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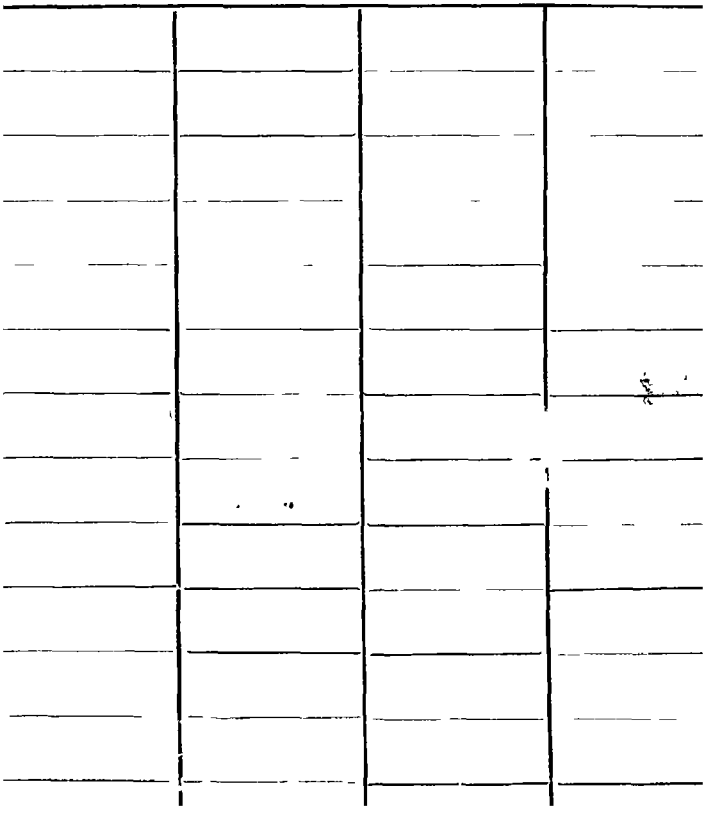
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"DAYS WITH LENIN"

MAXIM GORKY

WITH

LANDMARKS IN THE LIFE OF LENIN



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FOREWORD

Maxim Gorky, Russian novelist, ranks among the masters of world literature. He was born in the "lower depths" of society of which he wrote with such great passion and insight, in the midst of the hunger and anguish of Russian life under the Tsars. From his youth Gorky identified himself with the struggle for freedom. As these reminiscences show, he was an intimate of Lenin and with only one or two breaks ardently championed the Bolshevik cause throughout his life.

His death in 1936 was mourned far beyond the borders of his native land. From the Soviet people he received a degree of love and esteem second only to that accorded Stalin. In his last years Gorky enjoyed the closest personal friendship with the Soviet premier for whom he always expressed the profoundest admiration.

Gorky died a victim of the Trotskyist Fifth Column in Russia. He was poisoned. The facts were finally revealed in the trials of 1938. In the glimpses we get here of Lenin several of those who later betrayed their country are mentioned. Very striking is Lenin's estimate, with its prophetic note of future disaster, of Trotsky: "He is with us, but not of us. There is something of Lassalle in him, something which isn't good." Lassalle had helped found the Labour movement in Germany in the 40's of the last century and, just like Trotsky with whom he is compared, became in the end an agent of the enemy.

Gorky's "Days With Lenin" presents a remarkable picture, at once delightful and impressive, of one man whose life work has made so colossal an impress on the history of mankind.

HARRY GOULD.

June, 1942.

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"DAYS WITH LENIN"

M. GORKY

Vladimir Lenin is dead. That in him the world has lost a surpassing genius, one far greater than any of his great contemporaries ; this even some of his enemies have had the courage to admit. The following words from the conclusion of an article on Lenin, which appeared in the German bourgeois paper " Prager Tageblatt ", an article whose dominant note is one of awe and reverence for his colossal figure : " Great and terrible and beyond our comprehension, even in death,—such is Lenin." It is clear that the feeling behind this article is not one of mere gloating, not the feeling which finds cynical expression in the saying that " the corpse of an enemy always smells good "; neither is it the feeling of relief which comes from the departure of a great but restless spirit. It is unmistakably the pride of humanity in a great man.

The Russian emigrant Press had neither the moral courage nor the good taste to express, on the occasion of Lenin's death, the respect which the bourgeois papers shewed in appreciating the personality of a man whose life was one of the greatest examples of fearless reason and resolute will to live.

It would be a difficult task to paint his portrait. Lenin's words were as much a part of his external appearance as scales are of that of fish. The simplicity and straightforwardness of everything he said were an essential part of his nature. The heroic deeds which he achieved are surrounded by no glittering halo. His was that heroism of which Russia knows well, the unassuming, austere life of self-sacrifice of the true Russian revolutionary intellectual who in his unshakable belief in the possibility of social justice on the earth, renounces all the pleasures of life in order to toil for the happiness of mankind.

What I wrote about him directly after his death, when I was overwhelmed with grief, was hastily written and inadequate. There were things which considerations of tact, which are, I hope, fully comprehensible, did not

allow me to write then. This was a man of piercing vision and great wisdom and "in much wisdom is much grief."

He could always see a long way ahead, and in discussing people in the years between 1919 and 1921 he often gave an accurate forecast of what they would become in the course of several years. These forecasts were not always flattering, and one did not always want to believe in them, but unfortunately in many cases his sceptical remarks have been justified. The unsatisfactory character of my former reminiscences was increased by the presence of many bad gaps and inconsistencies. I ought to have begun with the London Congress,* when the figure of Vladimir Ilyitch stood out in strong relief against a background of doubt and mistrust, of open hostility and even of hate.

The First Meeting

I still see vividly before me the bare walls of a wooden church on the outskirts of London, unadorned to the point of absurdity, the lancet-windows of a small, narrow hall which might have been a class-room in a poor school. Any resemblance to a church stopped at the outside of the building. Inside there was no trace of anything ecclesiastical and even the low pulpit, instead of standing at the far end of the hall, was placed at the entrance, midway between the two doors.

I had never met Lenin before this, nor read as much of him as I ought to have done. But what I had managed to read, and above all the enthusiastic accounts of those who knew him personally, had attracted me strongly towards him. When we were introduced, he shook me heartily by the hand, and scrutinizing me with his keen eyes, and speaking in the tone of an old acquaintance, he said jocularly: "So glad you've come. I believe you're fond of a scrap? There's going to be a fine old scuffle here."

I did not expect Lenin to be like that. Something was lacking in him. He rolled his "r's" gutturally, and had a jaunty way of standing with his hands somehow poked up under his armpits. He was somehow too ordinary,

* The Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, held in London in 1907.—*Ed.*

did not give the impression of being a leader. As a literary man, I am obliged to take note of such little details, and this necessity has become a habit, sometimes even an irritating habit, with me. G. V. Plekhanov, at our first meeting, stood with folded arms, looking at me with the severe, slightly bored expression with which an overworked teacher regards an additional pupil. Nothing that he said has remained in my memory beyond the extremely trite remark: "I am an admirer of your work"; and neither of us, during the whole time of the Congress, felt any desire to have a heart-to-heart talk with the other.

Before me now stood a bald-headed, stocky, sturdy person, speaking with a guttural roll of his "r's," and holding my hand in one of his, while with the other he wiped a forehead which might have belonged to Socrates, beaming affectionately at me with his strangely bright eyes. He began at once to speak about the defects of my book, "Mother"—evidently he had read it in the manuscript which was in the possession of S. P. Ladyzhnikov. I was hurrying to finish the book, I said,—but did not succeed in saying why. Lenin, with a nod of assent, himself gave the explanation—Yes, I should hurry up with it, such a book is needed, for many of the workers who take part in the revolutionary movements do so unconsciously, and chaotically, and it would be very useful to them to read "Mother". "The very book for the moment." This was the single compliment he paid me, but it was a most precious one to me.

Then he went on to ask in a businesslike way, if it was being translated, whether it had been much mangled by the Russian and American censorship? When I told him that the author was to be prosecuted, at first he frowned, then threw back his head, closed his eyes and burst into an unusual laugh; this laugh attracted the workers, and F. Uralsky, I think it was, came up, and three other people.

I was in festive mood. I was in the midst of three hundred picked partymen who, I learnt, had been sent to the congress by one hundred and fifty thousand organised workers. Before my eyes were all the party leaders,

the old revolutionaries, Plekhanov, Axelrod, Deutsch. My festive mood was quite natural and will be understood by the reader, when I add that I had become extremely low-spirited during the two years I had spent away from my native country. My dejection began in Berlin, where I met almost all the leading Social-Democrats, and dined with August Bebel, with Singer, a very stout fellow, beside me, and other distinguished people around.

With the German Social-Democrats

We dined in a spacious and comfortable room. Tasteful embroidered cloths were thrown over the canary cages, and embroidered antimacassars were fastened on the backs of the armchairs so that the covers should not get soiled from the heads of the persons sitting in them. Everything was solid and substantial. Everyone ate in a solemn manner and said to each other in a solemn tone "Mahlzeit." This was a new word for me, but I knew that "mal" in French meant "bad," and "Zeit" in German meant "time"— "bad times."

Singer twice referred to Kautsky as "my romanticist." Bebel, with his aquiline nose, seemed to me somewhat self-satisfied. We drank Rhenish wine and beer. The wine was sour and tepid. The beer was good. The Social-Democrats spoke sourly and with condescension about the Russian Revolution and Party, but about their own party, the German Party—everything was splendid! There was a general atmosphere of self-satisfaction. Even the chairs looked as though they delighted in supporting the honourable bulk of the leaders.

My business with the German Party was of a rather delicate nature. A prominent member of it, afterwards the notorious Parvus, had received from "Znanie"* an authorisation to collect author's fees from the theatres for the play, "The Lower Depths." He received this authorisation in 1902 in Sevastopol, at the station, whither he had come on an unlawful visit. The money which he collected was to be divided up in the following way: 20% of the total sum to him, and of the rest, I

* A legal publishing house of the Bolsheviks.—*Ed.*

was to receive one quarter, while three-quarters went to the funds of the Social-Democratic Party. Parvus knew these conditions, of course, and was even delighted with them. For four years the play had been going the round of all the theatres in Germany, in Berlin alone it had been performed more than five hundred times, and Parvus must have collected a hundred thousand marks. But instead of the money, he sent to " Znanie ", to K. P. Pyatnitsky, a letter in which he good-humouredly informed him that he had spent all the money on a trip with a young lady to Italy. As I was concerned personally with this doubtless very pleasant trip only to the extent of a quarter of the money, I considered myself justified in writing to the Central Committee of the German Party about the remaining three-quarters. I communicated with them through G. P. Ladyzhnikov. The Central Committee remained quite unmoved by Parvus' trip. Later on I learnt that he had been degraded by the Party; frankly speaking, I would have preferred to see his ears pulled for him When I was in Paris some time later, an extremely pretty young woman was pointed out to me as Parvus' companion on his Italian trip. " A very dear young lady," I thought, " very dear."

I met many people in Berlin, writers, artists, patrons of art and letters and others, and their complacency and self-esteem differed from one to another only in degree.

A Trip to America

In America I had seen a lot of Maurice Hilquit, who was aiming at becoming mayor or governor of New York, and the old man Debbs, who had only just come out of prison and was snarling at everybody and everything in a tired and forlorn fashion. I had seen many people and many things, but I had not met a single person who could understand the whole significance of the Russian Revolution, and I felt everywhere that it was regarded generally as " a mere incidence of European life " and a usual occurrence in a country " where there was always either cholera or revolution," in the words of one " handsome lady " who " sympathized with socialism."

The idea of a journey to America to collect money for the Bolshevik funds came from L. B. Krassin; V. V. Vorovsky was to go with me as secretary and organizer of meetings. He knew English well, but the Party gave him some other work to do, and N. E. Burenin took his place. He didn't know the language and began to learn it on the way and when he arrived in the country. The Social-Revolutionaries became childishly interested in my journey when they learnt the aim of it. Tchaikovsky and Zitlovsky came to me while I was still in Finland and suggested that money should be collected not for the Bolsheviks, but for "the revolution in general." I refused to collect money for any "general revolution." Then they sent "babushka"* there also, and so two people appeared in America, who independently of each other, and even without meeting, began to collect money, apparently for two different revolutions. The Americans of course had neither the time nor inclination to consider which was the better and the more substantial. "Babushka" apparently was already known to them—she had been well advertised in the past by her American friends—and the Tsarist embassy prepared a scandal for me.† The American comrades also regarded the Russian Revolution as a "local" and abortive affair and treated somewhat "liberally" the money which I collected at the meetings, and on the whole I collected very little money—less than 10,000 dollars. I decided to get some money by writing in the newspapers—but there happened to be a Parvus in America as well, and the American tour was on the whole a failure. However I wrote "Mother" there—a fact which accounts perhaps for the faults and defects in it.

After that I went to Italy, to Capri, and plunged into reading Russian books and newspapers—this also increas-

* "Babushka" Catherine Breshkovskaya was called by her followers "grandmother" of the Russian Revolution. She was a social-patriot during the war, supported Kerensky and after the October Revolution became one of the most venomous enemies of the Soviet Union.—*Ed.*

† As soon as Gorky's mission became known, a compaign of social boycott was organised against him presumably on account of his marital relations. He was forced to leave his hotel and seek the hospitality of a friend.—*Ed.*

ed my low spirits. If a tooth could feel after being knocked out, it would probably feel as lonely as I did. I was full of amazement at the acrobatic skill and agility with which well-known people jumped from one political platform to another.

From Russia came straggling revolutionaries, crushed, frightened, angry with themselves and with those who had drawn them into a " hopeless enterprise."

" Everything is lost," they said. " They have crushed, annihilated, exiled, imprisoned everybody ! "

A great deal was ludicrous, but there was no ray of cheerfulness. One visitor from Russia, a talented writer, said that I had been playing something like the role of Luke in " The Lower Depths,"—had come and charmed the young people with amiable words, they had believed me, had got some knocks on the head, and I had run away. Another declared that I was eaten up by " tendencies," that I was a " played-out " man, and denied any significance to the ballet only because it was " imperial." On the whole they said a lot of stupid and ridiculous things, and I often felt as if a pestilential dust were blowing from Russia.

Then suddenly, as though in a fairy tale, I found myself at the Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party Of course it was a great day for me !

At the London Congress

But my festive mood lasted only until the first meeting, when they began wrangling about " the order of the day." The fury of these disputes at once chilled my enthusiasm, and not so much because I felt how sharply the party was divided into reformers and revolutionaries —I had realised that in 1903—but because of the hostile attitude of the reformers to Lenin. It oozed and spouted out of their speeches like water under high pressure out of an old hosepipe.

It is not always what is said that is important, but how it is said. When Plekhanov, in a frock-coat, closely buttoned up, like a Protestant pastor, opened the Congress, he spoke like a preacher, confident that his ideas are in-

controvertible—every word and every pause of great value. High up over the heads of the delegates he skilfully weighed out his beautifully rounded phrases, and whenever anyone on the Bolshevik benches uttered a sound or whispered to a comrade, the venerable orator made a slight pause and sent his glance into him like a needle. One of the buttons on his frockcoat was a great favourite with Plekhanov; he stroked it caressingly all the time with his finger, and when he paused, pressed it like an electric bell—it seemed to be this pressure which broke up the flowing current of his speech. Once at a meeting Plekhanov, rising to answer someone, folded his arms and gave a loud and contemptuous "Ha!". This evoked a laugh among the Bolshevik workers. G. V. raised his eyebrows and his cheek grew pale. I say—his cheek, for I was sitting at the side of the pulpit and could see the orator's face and profile.

While Plekhanov was speaking at the first meeting, the person who did the most fidgeting on the Bolshevik benches was Lenin. At one time he hunched himself up as though he were cold, then he sprawled as if he felt hot. He poked his fingers in his armholes, rubbed his chin, shook his head, and whispered something to M. P. Tomsky. When Plekhanov declared that there were no "revisionists"† in the party, Lenin bent down, the bald spot on his head grew red, and his shoulders shook with silent laughter. The workers sitting next to him and behind him also smiled, and from the back of the hall a voice called out loudly and morosely, "And what about the people sitting over there?"

Little Theodore Dan spoke like a man whose relationship to the authentic truth is one of father and daughter—he has begotten and fostered it, and still fosters it. He again, is Karl Marx incarnate, and the Bolsheviks—half-educated, ill-mannered children; a fact which is quite clear from their relations with the Mensheviks among whom are to be found, he said, "all the most eminent Marxist thinkers."

* Tried and found guilty of Fifth Column activities in 1937.—*Ed.*

† Supporters of the reformist Bernstein's attempts to "revise" arxism.—*Ed.*

" You are not Marxists," he said disdainfully; " no, you are not Marxists,"—and he thrust out his yellow fist. One of the workers asked him, " When are you going to tea again with the Liberals? "

I don't remember if it was at the first meeting that Martov spoke. This amazingly attractive man spoke with the ardour of youth and was evidently especially deeply affected by the tragic drama of the dissension and split. He trembled all over, swayed backwards and forwards, spasmodically unfastening the collar of his starched shirt, and waving his hands about. His cuffs fell down from under the sleeves of his coat, he raised his arm high up and shook it to send the cuff again to its proper place. Martov didn't give so much the impression of arguing as of urging and imploring: we must put an end to the split, the party is too weak to be divided, the workers must get freedom before anything else, we mustn't let them lose heart. At times during the first part of his speech he sounded almost hysterical; he became obscure through abundance of words, and he himself gave a painful impression. At the end of his speech, and without any apparent connection with it, he began in the same " militant " tone and with the same ardour, to shout against the militant group and against all work directed to the preparation of an armed rising. I remember distinctly that someone from the Bolshevik benches cried out, " Well, there you are! " and Tomsky, I think it was, said, " Have we got to cut our hands off for comrade Martov's peace of mind? " Again, I do not remember exactly if Martov spoke at the first meeting. I only mention it in order to describe the different ways in which people spoke.

After his speech there was a gloomy discussion among the workers in the room which led into the hall of the meeting. " There's Martov for you; and he was one of the ' Iskra ' group! " " Our intellectual friends are changing their colour ! "

* From 1900 to 1903 the *Iskra*, with Lenin at its head, was the leading organ of the Russian Social-Democracy. After Lenin's resignation in November, 1903, it continued publication until 1905 as the organ of the Mensheviks.—*Ed.*

Lenin Speaks

Rosa Luxembourg spoke eloquently, passionately and trenchantly, using irony with great effect. But now Vladimir Ilyitch hurries to the pulpit, and cries " Comrades ! " in his guttural way. He seemed to me to speak badly, but after a minute I and everybody else was absorbed in his speech. It was the first time I had heard complicated political questions treated so simply. There was no striving after eloquent phrases with him, but every word was uttered distinctly, and its meaning was marvellously plain. It is very difficult to pass on to the reader the unusual impression which he made.

His arm was extended with the hand slightly raised, and he seemed to weigh every word with it, and to sift out the remarks of his opponents, substituting them by momentous arguments for the right and duty of the working class to go its own way, and not along with the liberal bourgeoisie or trailing behind it. All this was unusual, and Lenin seemed to say it not of his own will, but by the will of history. The unity, completeness, directness and strength of his speech, his whole appearance in the pulpit—it was a very work of classic art : everything was there, and yet there was nothing superfluous, and if there were any embellishments, they were not noticed as such, but were as natural and inevitable as two eyes in a face or five fingers on a hand. He gave a shorter speech than the orators who spoke before him, but he made a much greater impression. I was not alone in feeling this. Behind me was an enthusiastic whispering, " Now, HE has got something to say ". It really was so. His conclusions were not reached artificially, but developed by themselves, inevitably. The Mensheviks made no attempt to hide their displeasure at the speech and more than displeasure at Lenin himself. The more convincingly he shewed the necessity to the party of the utmost development of revolutionary theory so that the practice might be thoroughly surveyed in the light of it, the more exasperatedly did they interrupt him.

" A Congress isn't the place for philosophy ! " " Don't act the teacher with us, we're not school-boys ! "

One tall, bearded individual who looked like a shopkeeper was especially aggressive. He jumped up from his seat and stuttered, " Little p-plots—p-playing at little p-plots ! ' Blanquists ! ' " Rosa Luxembourg nodded her head reprovingly. She made a neat remark to the Mensheviks at one of the later meetings. " You don't stand on Marxism, you sit on it, or rather lie down on it."

A malevolent, burning wave of irritability, irony and hatred swept over the hall. The eyes which reflected Lenin shewed a hundred different expressions. These hostile thrusts had no noticeable effect on him. He spoke on warmly but deliberately and calmly. I learnt what this external calm had cost him a few days later. It was strange and sad to see that such hostility could be roused against him by such a natural thought as that " only by the help of a fully developed theory would the Party be able to see the causes of the dissension in its midst ". The impression formed itself in my mind that each day of the Congress added ever greater power to V. Ilyitch, and made him bolder and more confident. With each day his speech sounded firmer and the Bolshevist element in the Congress grew more and more uncompromising and inflexible. Apart from this, I was moved most of all by the eloquent, vigorous speech of Rosa Luxembourg against the Mensheviks, and the crushing, sledge-hammer blows of M. P. Tomsky's speech against the idea of a " Labour Congress ".

Lenin and the Workers

His free minutes or hours he spent among the workers, asking them about the most petty details of their lives.

" What about their wives? Up to the neck in housework? But do they manage to learn anything, to read anything?"

Once in Hyde Park a group of workers who had seen Lenin for the first time at the Congress were discussing his conduct there. One of them made a striking remark.

" For all I know there may be other fellows as clever as he in Europe on the side of the workers. But I don't believe you'll find another one who could get you on the spot like that fellow ! "

Another one added with a smile, " He's one of us all right."

" Plekhanov's just as much one of us ", someone replied. The answer I heard just hit the mark — " You feel that Plekhanov's always teaching you, lording it over you, but Lenin's a real leader and comrade." One young fellow said jokingly, " Plekhanov's frock-coat is too tight for him."

On one occasion we were on our way to a restaurant, when a worker, a Menshevik, stopped him to ask him a question. Ilyitch dropped behind while the party went on. He entered the restaurant frowning, five minutes later, and said, " Curious that such a simpleton should have got into the Party Congress. He asked me, what was after all the real reason for the dissension? ' This is what it is ', I said to him. ' Your friends want to get into Parliament, while we believe that the working class has got to prepare for a struggle.' " I think he understood. Several of us always had our meals together in the same cheap little restaurant. I noticed that V. Ilyitch ate very little—two or three fried eggs, a small piece of ham, and a mug of thick, dark-coloured beer. He obviously took very little care of himself and his amazing care for the workers struck one all the more.

M. F. Andreyeva was looking after the canteen, and he would ask her, " What do you think, are the workers getting enough to eat? No? H'm, h'm. Perhaps we can get more sandwiches? " Once when he came to the inn where I was staying, I noticed him feeling the bedding with a preoccupied air. " What are you doing? " I asked. " I'm just looking to see if the sheets are well aired ". At first I didn't understand. Why should he want to know what the sheets were like in London? Then, noticing my perplexity, he explained, " You must take care of yourself."

In the Autumn of 1918 I asked a worker from Sormova, Dmitry Pavlov, what he thought was Lenin's most striking feature? He answered, " Simplicity. He is as simple as truth itself." He said this as though it had been thought out and decided long ago. It is well known that one's severest critics are those who work under one. Lenin's chauffeur Gill, a man of great experience, said,

" Lenin is quite unique. There are no others like him. Once I was driving him along Myasnitsky Street when the traffic was very heavy. I hardly moved forward, I was afraid of the car getting smashed and was sounding the horn, feeling very worried. He opened the door, reached me by standing on the footboard, meanwhile running the risk of being knocked down, and urged me to go forward. ' Don't get worried, Gill, go on like every one else.' I am an old chauffeur. I know that nobody else would do that."

It would be difficult to make the reader realise how easily and naturally all his impressions flowed in the same channel. With the invariability of a compass-needle his thoughts turned in the direction of the class interests of the workers. One of our free evenings in London a small company of us went to the " Music-Hall "—a democratic theatre.

V. Ilyitch laughed gaily and infectiously at the clowns and comedians and looked indifferently at the rest. He paid especial attention to the timber-felling by the workers of British Columbia. The little scene at the back showed a forest camp and on the ground in front two young fellows hewed through the trunk of a tree about a metre in thickness in the course of a minute, " That's for the public of course," said Ilyitch. " They couldn't work as quickly as that in reality. But apparently they use hatchets there also, and cut up a lot of wood into useless chips. There's English civilisation for you ! " He began to speak about the anarchy in production under capitalism, the great percentage of raw material which is wasted, and ended by regretting that no one had as yet thought of writing a book on the subject. The idea wasn't quite clear to me but I didn't manage to question V. Ilyitch. He was already making some interesting remarks about the pantomime as a special form of the art of the theatre. " It is the expression of a certain satirical attitude towards generally accepted ideas, an attempt to turn them inside out, to distort them, to show the arbitrariness of the usual. It is a little complicated but interesting ! " Two years afterwards in Capri, when he was discussing the Utopian novel with A. A. Bogdanov-Malinovsky, he said, " If you would write a novel for the

workers on the subject of how the sharks of capitalism robbed the earth and wasted the oil, iron, timber and coal —that would be a useful book, Signor Machist! "*

A Meeting in Paris

When he said good-bye to me in London he promised to come to Capri for a rest. But before he had made up his mind to come, I saw him in Paris in a two-roomed student's flat (it was a student's flat only on size, not in the cleanliness and order that reigned there). Nadejda Constantinovna† had gone out after giving us tea and we remained alone together. "Znanie" had just gone to pieces, and I had come to discuss with V. Ilyitch the organizing of a new publishing house which would embrace as far as possible all our literary people. I proposed for the editorial office abroad. V. Vorovsky and someone else, and in Russia V. A. Dyesnitsky-Stroyev would represent them. I thought that a series of books should be published on the history of the literatures of the West and on Russian literature, books on the history of civilization which would provide the workers with a mine of information for purposes of self-education and propaganda. But Vladimir Ilyitch quashed the plan by pointing to the censorship and the difficulty of organizing the people. The majority of the comrades were occupied with practical party work,—they had no time for writing. But his chief, and for me, most conclusive argument was approximately as follows: there is no time for writing thick books, a thick book would be read only by the intelligentsia, who are quite evidently giving up socialism for liberalism and it is not for us to turn them from the path they have chosen. Newspapers and brochures are what we need. It would be a good thing to renew the "Znanie" library, but it would be impossible in Russia because of the censorship, and here because of transport —we have to throw scores of hundreds of thousands of pamphlets into the masses, it would be impossible to con-

* Machism was the name given to the tendency at that time to revise Marxism by diluting it with a new version of philosophical idealism based on the mechanist theories of the Austrian physicist Ernst Mach.—*Ed.*

† N. K. Krupskaya, Lenin's wife.—*Ed.*

vey such a heap illegally. Let us wait for a publishing house till better times.

With his invariably striking vividness and clarity, he began to talk about the Duma and the Cadets* who, he said, are "ashamed to be Octobrists"† and have only one way open to them, the road to the right. Then he brought forward a series of arguments for the imminence of war and "probably not of one, but of a whole series of wars"; a prophecy which was speedily fulfilled in the Balkans. He got up and with a characteristic gesture, putting his thumbs in his waistcoat armholes, paced slowly up and down the little room, screwing up his bright eyes: "War is coming. It is inevitable. The capitalist world has reached the stage of putrescent fermentation. People are already beginning to poison themselves with the drugs of chauvinism and nationalism. I think we shall yet see a general European war. The proletariat? The proletariat will hardly be able to find in itself the strength to avert the carnage. How could it be done? A general strike of workers all over Europe? They are not yet sufficiently organized or class-conscious for that. Such a strike would be the signal for a civil war but we as practical politicians cannot count on that." He paused, scraping the sole of his shoe on the floor, then said gloomily, "The proletariat of course will suffer terribly. Such must be its fate for some time yet. But its enemies will weaken each other, that also is inevitable." Coming up to me he said forcefully but not loudly, as if in amazement, "No, but think of it. Why should people who are well-fed force hungry ones to fight against each other? Could you name a more idiotic or more revolting crime? The workers will pay a dreadfully heavy price for this, but in the end they will gain. It is the will of history." He often spoke of history but I never felt in what he said any fetishistic worship of its will or power.

His words had agitated him. He sat down and wiping the sweat from his forehead, drank a little cold tea and asked unexpectedly, "What was that affair of yours in

* Members of the bourgeois-liberal Constitutional Democratic Party.—*Ed.*

† The party of big capital and land-owners.—*Ed.*

America? I know from the newspapers what it was about, but how did it end?" I briefly related my adventures. I have never met a man who could laugh so infectiously as Lenin. It was strange to see such a stern realist, a man who saw so well, and felt so deeply the inevitability of great social catastrophes, irreconcileable, relentless in his hatred towards the capitalist world, laughing like a child, till the tears came, till he choked with laughter. To laugh like that one must have the soundest and healthiest of minds. "Oh, you are a—humorist"! he said through his laughter. "I would never have thought that anything could be so funny." Wiping his eyes, he was at once serious, and said with his kind, soft smile, "It's a good thing that you can meet failure with humour. Humour is a splendid, healthy quality. And really life is as funny as it is sad, just as much." We agreed that I should visit him in a day's time, but the weather was bad and I began spitting a good deal of blood in the evening, and left the next day.

Lenin in Italy

The next time we met after Paris was in Capri. I had a very strange impression at that time—as though V. Ilyitch were twice in Capri and in two sharply different moods. One Ilyitch, when I met him at the wharf, immediately declared to me resolutely, "I know A. M. that you are always hoping that it will be possible to reconcile me with the Machists although I warned you of the futility of it in a letter. So don't make any attempts." I tried to explain to him on the way to my lodgings and afterwards, that he was not absolutely right. I never have had, nor have I now, any intention of reconciling opposing philosophies which, by the way, I do not understand very well. In addition I had been mistrustful of all philosophies from my youth, and the cause of this mistrust had always been the contradiction between philosophy and my personal "subjective" experience. For me the world had only just begun, it was in the process of becoming, but philosophy gave it a slap on the head and put to it the entirely misplaced and irrelevant question, "Whither are you going? Wherefore are you going?

Why—do you think?" Some philosophers give the simple, stern command, "Stop"! In addition, I was aware that philosophy, like a woman, can be very plain, even hideous, but dressed up so skilfully and convincingly that she can be taken for a beauty. This made V. Ilyitch laugh. "Well that's making a joke of it", he said. "That the world is only beginning, is in process of becoming—well, think it over seriously. You will come from that point to the place where you ought to have come long ago." Then I told him that in my eyes A. A. Bogdanov, A. Lunacharsky, and V. A. Bazarov were important people, highly educated and all round, and had no equals in the party. "Granted. Well, what follows?" "I consider them to be people aiming finally at the same thing, and if profoundly understood and realised, the unity of their aim should wipe out and annihilate philosophical contradictions." "That means that the hope of reconciliation is still alive after all? It is quite useless," he said, "put it out of your head, as completely as possible, I advise you as a friend. Plekhanov, according to you, has the same aim as well, and I, between ourselves, consider that he has quite another aim, although he is a materialist and not a metaphysician."

Our conversation ended here. There is no need, I think, to mention that I have not reproduced it in exactly the original words. But I am quite sure of the accuracy of the ideas.

So Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin stood before me, more firm, more inflexible than at the London Congress even. But then he was agitated, then there were times when the party split clearly made him live through some painful moments. Now he was in a calm, rather cold and satirical mood, putting sternly aside all philosophical themes, and continually on the alert. A. A. Bogdanov, who was an extremely attractive person, of a very mild character and very fond of Lenin, though with a rather high opinion of himself, had to listen to these biting and painful words; "Schopenhauer said that clear thinking means clear speaking" and I think he never said a truer word. You don't explain yourself clearly, Comrade Bogdanov. Explain to me in a few words what your "substitution" will give to the working class, and

why Machism is more revolutionary than Marxism? " Bogdanov tried to explain but he really did speak in a confused and wordy fashion. " Drop it," advised V. Ilyitch. " Somebody or other, Jaures I think, said, " It is better to speak the truth than to be a minister "—or a Machist, I would add." Then he plunged into a game of chess with Bogdanov, and when he lost, grew angry and even despondent like a child. It is worthy of remark that even this childish despondency, like his astonishing laugh, did not impair the completeness and unity of his character.

There was in Capri another Lenin—a splendid comrade, a light-hearted person with a lively, inexhaustible interest in everything in the world, and strikingly gentle. Late one evening when everyone had gone out for a walk, he said to me and M. F. Andreyeva sadly and with deep regret, " Such clever and talented people, who have done a great deal for the party, and could do ten times more —and they will not go with us! They cannot do so. And scores, hundreds of such people are ruined and mutilated by this criminal regime."

Another time he said, " Lunacharsky will return to the party. He is less of an individualist than the other two. He has a highly gifted nature such as is rarely met with. I " have a weakness " for him. What stupid words, " to have a weakness "! I am really very fond of him, you know, he is a splendid comrade! There is something of the French brilliancy about him. His levity is also French,—his levity is the result of his aestheticism."

He asked in detail about the life of the Capri fishermen, what were their earnings, what was the influence of the priests, what were their schools like? I could not but be surprised at the range of his interests. When a priest was pointed out to him, the son of a poor peasant, he immediately asked for information as to how often the peasants send their children to the seminaries, and whether the children returned to their own village as priests.

" You understand? If this isn't an isolated case, it means that it is the policy of the Vatican—an artful policy! "

I cannot imagine another man who, so far surpassing other people, could yet remain unaffected by ambitious cravings, and retain a lively interest in simple folk.

There was a certain magnetic quality in him which drew the hearts and sympathies of the working people to him. He didn't speak Italian, but the Capri fishermen, who had seen Chaliapin and many other outstanding Russians, by a sort of instinct put Lenin in a special place at once. His laugh was enchanting—the hearty laugh of a man, who through being so well acquainted with the clumsy stupidity of human beings and the acrobatic trickery of the quick-witted, could find pleasure in the childlike artlessness of the "simple in heart." One old fisherman, Giovanni Spadaro, said of him, "Only an honest man could laugh like that."

We would go rowing sometimes, on water blue and transparent as the sky, and Lenin learnt how to catch fish "with his finger"—using the line alone, without the rod. The fishermen explained to him that the fish must be hooked when the finger feels the vibration of the line. "Cosi: drin, drin. Capisce?"

A second later he hooked a fish, drew it in and cried out with childlike joy and a hunter's excitement, "Drin drin." The fishermen roared with laughter, gay as children, and nicknamed the fisherman "Signor Drin-Drin." After he had gone away, they continued to ask, "How is Drin-Drin getting on? The Tsar hasn't caught him yet?"

I do not remember if it was before Lenin's visit or after that Plekhanov came to Capri. Some of the emigrants in the Capri colony, the writer Oliger, Lorentz-Mettner, who was condemned to death for organizing the rising in Sotchi, Paul Vigdorchik, and, I think, two others, wanted to speak to him. He refused. He had a right to do so. He was ill and had come for a rest. But Oliger and Lorentz told me that he had refused in a very offensive way. Oliger, who was of a highly-strung temperament, insisted that Plekhanov had said something about "Being sick of the crowd of people who all want to speak but are incapable of doing anything." When he was with me, he really did not wish to see anyone from the local colony. Ilyitch saw them all. Plekhanov never

asked about anything. He knew it all already and informed you himself. Talented in the wide Russian way and with a European education, he loved to parade his wit and for the sake apparently of a pungent jest would lay the most cruel emphasis on the weak point of foreign or Russian comrades. To me his witticisms often appeared pointless and only such have remained in my memory. " Immoderately moderate Mehring; Erico Ferri is an impostor; there is neither gold nor iron in him."—This pun was built up on the word Ferro, meaning iron. All of them were after this pattern. As a general rule he had a condescending manner towards people, rather as though he had been a god. I felt deep respect for him as a very talented writer and the theoretical inspirer of the party, but no sympathy. There was too much of the " aristocrat " in him. I may be mistaken in my judgement. I am not fond of indulging in mistakes, but like everybody else cannot always avoid them. But the fact remains that I have rarely met two people with less in common than G. V. Plekhanov and V. I Lenin; and this was natural. The one was finishing his work of destroying the old world. the other was beginning the construction of a new.

Life plays such malicious tricks on us, that those who are incapable of real hatred are incapable of real love also. This fact alone, distorting human nature at the root, this unavoidable division of the soul, the inevitability of love through hatred, condemns the modern conditions of life to dissolution.

I have never met in Russia, the country where the inevitability of suffering is preached as the general road to salvation, nor do I know of, any man who hated, loathed and despised so deeply and strongly as Lenin, all unhappiness, grief and suffering. In my eyes, these feelings, this hatred of the dramas and tragedies of life exalted Lenin more than anything, belonging as he did to a country where the greatest masterpieces have been gospels written in praise and sanctification of suffering, and where youth begins its life under the influence of books which are in essence descriptions of petty, trivial dramas monotonously unvarying. The literature of Russia is the most pessimistic in Europe. All our books are written on one

and the same theme;—how we suffer in youth and middle-age from our own foolishness, from the pressing weight of autocracy, on account of women, from love of one's neighbour, from the unsuccessful structure of the universe, how we suffer in old age from consciousness of the mistakes we have made in our lives, from lack of teeth, from indigestion and the imminence of death. Every Russian who has passed a month in prison for some political offence, and a year in exile, considers it his sacred duty to present Russia with a book of reminiscences of his sufferings. But a happy life no one has ever thought of putting into the form of memoirs. As Russians are in the habit of thinking out what their lives shall be, but cannot make them very well, maybe such a book would teach them how to devise a happy life.

Lenin was exceptionally great in my opinion precisely because of this feeling in him of irreconciliable, unquenchable hostility towards the sufferings of humanity, his burning faith that suffering is not an essential and unavoidable part of life, but an abomination which people ought and are able to sweep away. I would call this basic feature of his character the militant optimism of a materialist and this was not a Russian feature in him. It was precisely this which attracted me to this man—man, with a capital M.

Differences with Lenin

In the years 1917-18 my relations with Lenin were not what I would have wished them to be, but they could not be otherwise. He was a politician. He had to perfection that clear-sighted directness of vision which is so indispensable in the helmsman of so enormous and heavily burdened a ship as Russia with its dead-weight of peasants. I have an organic distaste for politics, and little faith in the reasoning powers of the masses, especially of the peasants. Reason without ordering ideas is yet far from being the force which lives in creative activity. There can be no ideas in the mind of the mass until the community of interests of all the separate individuals is realised.

The mass has been striving for thousands of years towards the good, and this striving gives rise to beasts of rapine out of the flesh of the mass, which enslave it, and live on its blood; and so it will be, until it realises that there is only one force which can free it from the thraldom of the beasts, the force of the truth which Lenin taught.

When in 1917 Lenin on his arrival in Russia published his theses,* I thought that by these theses he was sacrificing to the Russian peasantry the small but heroic band of politically educated workers and all the genuine revolutionaries of the intelligentsia. The single active force in Russia would, I thought, be thrown like a handful of salt into the vapid bog of the village life, and would dissolve without leaving any trace, would be sucked down without effecting any change in the mind, life or history of the Russian people. The professional intelligentsia, in general, the scientists and technicians, were from my point of view, revolutionaries by nature, and this socialist intelligentsia together with the workers, were for me the most precious force stored up in Russia and any other force capable of taking power, and organizing the village, I did not see in 1917. But only on condition of complete inner uity could this force numerically insignificant and split by contradictions, fulfil its role. Before them stood a tremendous task—to bring order into the anarchy of the village, to discipline the mind of the peasant, teach him to work rationally, to reorganize his economy, and by all these means to make the country progress. All this could only be achieved by subjecting the instincts of the village to the reason of the town. The primary task of the revolution I considered to be the creation of the conditions which would lead to the development of the cultural forces of the country. To this end I offered to construct in Capri a school for workers, and in the years of reaction from 1907-1913 tried as much as I could to raise the spirits of the workers by every possible method. With this end in view immediately after the February revolution there was organized the " Free Association for

* An analysis of the nature of the February Revolution and the Bolshevik programme to continue the revolution until the workers in alliance with the poor peasants have wrested power from the bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

the Development and Spread of Positive Science," an institution which aimed on the one hand, at organizing in Russia scientific research institutions, and on the other, at a broad and continuous popularisation of scientific and technical knowledge among the workers. At the head of the Association were the eminent scientists and members of the Academy of Sciences, V. A. Steklov, L. A. Tchugayev, Academician Fersman, S. P. Kostytchev, A. A. Petrovsky, and a number of others. The means were being got together with great energy; S. P. Kostytchev had already begun to look for a place for the Institute of Zoological and Botanical Research. In order to make myself quite clear, I will add that all my life, the depressing effect of the prevalency of the illiteracy of the village on the town, the individualism of the peasants, and their almost complete lack of the social emotions had weighed heavily on my spirits. The dictatorship of the politically enlightened workers, in close connection with the scientific and technical intelligentsia, was in my opinion, the only possible solution to a difficult situation which the war had made especially complicated by rendering the village still more anarchical. I differed from the communists on the question of the value of the role of the intelligentsia in the Russian Revolution, which had been prepared by this same intelligentsia to which belonged all the Bolsheviks who had educated hundreds of workers in the spirit of social heroism and genuine intellectuality. The Russian intelligentsia—the scientific and professional intelligentsia, I thought, had always been, was still, and would long be the only beast of burden to drag along the heavy load of Russian history. In spite of all shocks and impulses and stimulation which it had experienced, the mind of the masses of the people had remained a force still in need of leadership from without.

So I thought thirteen years ago—and was mistaken. This page of my reminiscences should be torn out. But " what has been written by the pen cannot be cut down by the axe "; and " we learn by our mistakes " as V. Ilyitch often repeated. Let the reader know my mistake. It will have done some good if it serves as a warning to those who are inclined to draw hasty conclusions. Of course, after a series of cases of the most despicable sabot-

aging by a number of specialists, I had no alternative but to change my attitude to the scientific and technical professionals. Such changes cost something—especially in old age. The duty of true-hearted leaders of the people is superhumanly difficult. A leader who is not in one degree or other a tyrant, is impossible. More people, probably, were killed under Lenin than under Thomas Munzer; but without this, resistance to the revolution of which Lenin was the leader would have been more widely and more powerfully organized. In addition to this we must take into account the fact that with the development of civilization the value of human life manifestly depreciates, a fact which is clearly proved by the growth in contemporary Europe of the technique of annihilating people, and the taste for doing so.

I challenge anyone to say frankly, how far he approves of, and how far is revolted by, the hypocrisy of the moralists who talk about the bloodthirstiness of the Russian Revolution when they not only shewed no pity for the people who were exterminated during the four years of the infamous Pan-European War, but by all possible means fanned the flame of this abominable war to " the victorious end." To-day the " civilized " nations are ruined, exhausted, decaying, and vulgar petty bourgeois philistinism which is common to all races reigns triumphant, there is no escape from its halter and people are being strangled to death.

Much has been said and written about Lenin's cruelty, I have no intention, of course, of doing anythig so ridiculously tactless as to defend him against lies and calumny. I know that lying and slandering is a legitimate method in petty bourgeois politics, a usual way of attacking an enemy. It would be impossible to find a single great man in the world today who has not had some mud thrown at him. This is known to everybody. Besides this, there is a tendency in all people not only to reduce an outstanding man to the level of their own comprehension, but to roll him beneath their feet in the viscid noisome mud which they have created and call " every day life."

The following incident is for me repulsively memorable. In 1919 thre was a congress in Petersburg of " the village poor." From the villages in the north of Russia came

several thousands of peasants, some hundreds of whom were housed in the Winter Palace of the Romanovs. When the congress was over, and these people had gone away, it appeared that not only all the baths of the palace, but also a great number of priceless Sevres, Saxon and oriental vases had been befouled by them for lavatory use. This had not been done because of any need, the lavatories of the palace were in good order and the water system working. No, this Vandalism was an expression of the desire to sully and debase things of beauty. Two revolutions and a war have supplied me with hundreds of cases of this lurking, vindictive tendency in people, to smash, deform, ridicule and defame the beautiful. It must not be thought that the conduct of the Village Poor was emphasised by me because of my sceptical attitude to the peasants. This is not the case. I know some groups of intellectuals who suffer from this morbid desire to defile what is beautiful, as an example of which I would cite those emigrants who evidently think that if they are not in Russia there can be nothing good there.

This malicious desire to deface things of exceptional beauty is fundamentally the same as the odious tendency to vilify an exceptional man. Anything exceptional prevents people from living as they want to live. People long, if they have any longings, not for any fundamental change in their social habits, but to acquire additional habits. The gist of the wailing and complaining of the majority is, "Do not interfere with the way of living to which we are accustomed!" Vladimir Lenin was a man who knew better than anyone else how to prevent people from leading the life to which they were accustomed. The hatred of the world bourgeoisie for him is nakedly and repellently manifest, the livid plague spot of it shows unmistakably. Disgusting in itself, this hatred yet tells us how great and terrible in the eyes of the world bourgeoisie is Vladimir Lenin, the inspirer and leader of the proletarians of the whole world. His physical body no longer exists, but his voice sounds ever louder and more triumphantly in the ears of the workers of the earth, and already there is no corner of it where this voice does not rouse the will of the people to revolution, to the new life, to the creation of a world of equal people. With

ever-growing confidence, strength and success do those who were the pupils of Lenin and are now the inheritors of his power, carry on the great work.

"The Perfectly Fashioned Figure of Truth"

It was the clearly expressed will to live in him, his active hatred of life's abominations, which attracted me to him. I loved the youthful eagerness which he put into everything he did. His movements were light and agile, and his rare but powerful gestures were in full harmony with his speech, sparing as it was in words, in thought abounding; and on his slightly Mongolian face glowed and sparkled the keen eyes of a tireless fighter against the lies and sorrows of life,—now glowing and burning, now screwed up, now blinking, now ironically smiling, now flashing with anger. The gleam of his eyes made his words more glowing. Sometimes it seemed as if the indomitable energy of his soul flew out in sparks through his eyes, and his words, shot through and through with it, hung shining in the air. His words always gave one the impression of the physical pressure of an irresistible truth.

It was an unusual and extraordinary thing to see Lenin in the park at Gorky,* so much has the idea of him become associated with the picture of a man sitting at the end of a long table, and expertly and skilfully guiding the comrades in their work, with the observant eyes of a pilot, smiling and beaming; or standing on a platform with head thrown back, casting clear distinct words to the hushed crowd, before the eager faces of the people thirsting for truth.

His words always brought to my mind the cold glitter of steel shavings. From these words, with amazing simplicity there rose the perfectly fashioned figure of truth.

He was venturesome by nature, but his was not the mercenary venturesomeness of the gambler; in Lenin it was the manifestation of that exceptional moral courage which could only belong to a man with an unshakable belief in his calling, to a man with a profound and com-

* A country place near Moscow to which Lenin would retire for rest, where he died January 21, 1924.—*Ed.*

plete perception of his connection with the world, and perfect comprehension of his role in the chaos of the world, the role of enemy of that chaos. With equal enthusiasm he would play chess, look through " A History of Dress," dispute for hours with comrades, fish, go for walks along the stony paths of Capri, scorching under the southern sun, feast his eyes on the golden colour of the gorse, and on the swarthy faced children of the fishermen. In the evening, listening to stories about Russia and the country, he would sigh enviously and say, " I know very little of Russia,—Simbirsk, Kasan, Petersburg, exile in Siberia and that is nearly all."

He loved fun, and when he laughed it was with his whole body, he was quite deluged in laughter and would laugh sometimes until he cried. He could give to his short, characteristic exclamation " H'm, h'm," an infinite number of modifications, from biting sarcasm to non-committal doubt; and often in this " H'm, h'm," one caught the sound of the keen humour which a sharp-sighted man experiences who sees clearly through the stupidities of life.

Stocky and thick set, with his Socratic head and quick eyes—he would often adopt a strange and rather comical posture—he would throw his head back, inclining it somehow on to his shoulder, thrust his fingers under his armpits, in his waistcoat armholes. There was something deliciously funny in this pose, something of a triumphant fighting cook; and at such a moment he beamed all over with joy, a grown-up child in this accursed world, a splendid human being, who had to give himself as a sacrifice to hostility and hatred, so that love might be at last realised.

About Intellectuals and Specialists

I did not meet Lenin in Russia, or even see him from afar, until 1918, when the final base attempt was made on his life.* I came to him when he had hardly regained the use of his hand and could scarcely move his neck, which had been shot through. When I expressed my

* Dora Kaplan, a Socialist-Revolutionary, made an attempt on Lenin's life in 1918, when he was leaving a factory where he addressed a meeting of workers.—*Ed.*

indignation, he replied, as though dismissing something of which he was tried, " A brawl. Nothing to be done. Everyone acts according to his lights."

We met on very friendly terms, but of course there was evident pity in dear Ilyitch's sharp and penetrating glance, for I was one who had gone astray.

After several minutes he said eagerly, " He who is not with us is against us. People independent of the march of events—that is a fantasy. Even if we grant that such people did exist once, at present they do not and cannot exist. They are no good to anyone. All down to the last are thrown into the whirl of an actuality which is more complicated than ever before. You say that I simplify life too much? That this simplification threatens culture with ruin, eh?" Then the ironical, characteristic " H'm, h'm."

His keen glance sharpened, and he continued in a lower tone, " Well, and millions of peasants with rifles in their hands are not a threat to culture according to you, eh? You think the Constituent Assembly could have coped with that anarchy? You who make such a fuss about the anarchy of the country should be able to understand our tasks better than others. We have got to put before the Russian masses something simple, something they can grasp. The Soviets and Communism are simple. A union of the workers and intelligentsia, eh? Well, that isn't bad. Tell the intelligentsia. Let them come to us. According to you they are true servants of justice. What is the bother then? Certainly, let them come to us. We are just the people who have undertaken the colossal job of putting the people on its feet, of telling the whole world the truth about life,—it is we who are pointing out to the people the straight path to a human life, the path which lead out of slavery, beggary, degradation." He laughed and said without any trace of resentment— " That is why I received a bullet from the intelligentsia." When the temperature of the conversation was more or less normal, he said with vexation and sadness, " Do you think I quarrel with the idea that the intelligentsia is necessary to us? But you see how hostile their attitude is, how badly they understand the need of the moment? And they don't see how powerless they are without us,

how incapable of reaching the masses. They will be to blame if we break too many heads."

We almost always discussed this subject when we met; and although in what he said his attitude to the intelligentsia remained one of mistrust and hostility, in actuality he always correctly estimated the importance of intellectual energy in the revolutionary process, and seemed to agree that in essence revolution was the bursting out of that energy unable to develop regularly in the straitened conditions which it has outgrown.

I remember one occasion when I was with him and three members of the Academy of Sciences. The conversation was about the necessity of reorganizing one of the highest scientific institutions in Petersburg. When he had seen them off Lenin said contentedly, "Now that's alright. Those are clever men. With them everything is simple, everything is strictly formulated. You see at once that these people know exactly what they want. It is simply pleasure to work with such people. I especially liked.....,—he named one of the greatest names in Russian science, and a day later even asked me by telephone, "Ask S. whether he will come and work with us." And when S. accepted the proposal, he was sincerely glad, rubbing his hands together and saying jokingly, "One after another we shall win over all the Russian and European Archimedes, and then the world will have to change whether it wants to or not!"

At the 8th Congress of the Party, N I. Bucharin said among other things, "The nation is the bourgeoisie together with the proletariat. To recognise the right of some contemptible bourgeoisie to self-determination is absolutely out of place."* "No, excuse me," retorted Lenin, "it certainly is not out of place. You appeal to the process of the differentiation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, but let us wait and see how it will turn out." Then pointing to the example of Germany, and to the slowness and difficulty with which the process of differentiation develops, and declaring that they would never succeed in planting Communism by means of force, he went on to discuss the question of the importance of the

* In 1919.—*Ed.*

intelligentsia in industry, in the army, in the co-operative movement. I quote from " Izvestia,"* from the debates of the Congress.

" This question must be decided at the coming Conference with complete definiteness. We can only build up Communism when it has become more accessible to the masses by means of bourgeois science and technique. For this, it is necessary to take over the apparatus from the bourgeoisie, to attract all the specialists to work in this connection. Without the bourgeois specialists it is impossible to increase the forces of production. They must be surrounded by an atmosphere of comradely co-operation, by workers' commissars, by communists; conditions must be created which will not allow them to break away, but they must be given the possibility of working better than under capitalism, for otherwise this layer which has received its education from the bourgeoisie, will not begin to work. It is impossible to make a whole layer work by main force. The bourgeois specialists are used to doing cultural work, they were carrying it on within the framework of the bourgeois regime, that is, they enriched the bourgeoisie by enormous material work and construction and gave a miserable share in this wealth to the proletariat. Nevertheless, they did carry forward the work of culture—that is their profession. In so far as they see that the workers not only value culture but also help to spread it among the masses, they will change their attitude towards us. Then they will be morally won over and not only politically divided from the bourgeoisie. We must attract them to our apparatus, and for that must be prepared to make sacrifices. In dealing with the specialists we must not keep to a system of petty vexations. We must give them the best conditions of life possible. That will be the best policy. If yesterday we talked of legalising the petty bourgeois parties, and to-day arrest Mensheviks and Left Social-Revolutionaries, one straight line runs through this changing policy—the rooting out of counter-revolution and the acquisition of the cultural apparatus of the bourgeoisie." In this splendid expression of a great policy

* Official organ of the Soviet Government.—*Ed.*

there is far more real, live sense than in all the wailings of the miserable hypocrisy of petty-bourgeois "humanism." Unfortunately, many who should have understood and appreciated this appeal to honest work in co-operation with the working class, have not understood or appreciated it. They have preferred hole and corner sabotage and treachery. After the abolition of serfdom, many of the house-serfs, slaves by nature, also remained to serve their masters in the very stables where these had been wont to flog them.

Revolutionary Tactics

I often used to speak with Lenin about the cruelty of revolutionary tactics and life. "What do you want?" he would ask in astonishment and anger. "Is it possible to act humanely in a struggle of such unprecedented ferocity? Where is there any place for soft-heartedness or generosity? We are being blockaded by Europe, we are deprived of the help of the European proletariat, counter-revolution is creeping like a bear on us from every side. What do you want? Are we not right? Ought we not to struggle and resist? We are not a set of fools. We know that what we want can only be achieved by ourselves. Do you think that I would be sitting here if I were convinced of the contrary?" "What is your criterion for judging which blows are necessary and which superfluous in a fight?" he asked once, after a heated discussion. I could only give a vague poetical answer to this simple question. It would be impossible to answer otherwise, I think.

I often overwhelmed him with requests of a different nature, and often felt that all the bother I went to for various people made Lenin pity me. He would ask, "Don't you think you are wasting your energies on a lot of rubbish?" But I continued to do what I thought ought to be done, and was not put off when the man who knew who were the enemies of the proletariat looked at me askance, in anger. He would shake his head crushingly and say, "You are compromising yourself in the eyes of the comrades and workers." I pointed out that comrades and workers when their passions were

roused and they were irritated, not infrequently hold too lightly the life and liberty of valuable people, and that this in my view not only compromised the honest hard work of the revolution by too great, sometimes even senseless, cruelty, but was objectively and strategically bad, as it repelled many important people from participation in the revolution. "H'm, h'm," Lenin muttered sceptically, and pointed out to me many cases when the intelligentsia betrayed the interests of the workers. "Many people among us," he said, "go over to the other side and betray us, not only out of cowardice, but because of their self-esteem, because they are afraid of finding themeslves in an embarrassing situation, afraid that their beloved theory will suffer when it comes to grips with reality. But we are not afraid of that. There is nothing holy or sacred about theories or hypotheses for us, they serve us only as instruments." Yet I don't remember a single instance when any request of mine met with a refusal from Ilyitch. If they were not always fulfilled, it was not through his fault but through the faults of mechanism in which the clumsy Russian state machine has always abounded, and let us grant, a certain malicious reluctance to lighten the lot or save the lives of people of worth. Perhaps, too, there were cases of wilful harming, which is an enemy as cynical as it is cunning. Revenge and malice are often effective through force of inertia; and, of course, there are petty persons with unhealthy minds with a morbid thirst for the delight of contemplating the sufferings of their neighbours.

Once he shewed me a telegram, smiling—"They have arrested me again. Tell them to let me go." It was signed Ivan Volny. "I have read his book. I liked it very much. After reading the first five words I felt at once that here was a man who understood the inevitability of mistakes, who did not get angry, or fly into a rage if he was hurt personally. This is the third time, I think, that he has been arrested. You had better advise him to leave the village or they'll kill him next. Evidently they are not very fond of him there. Advise him. By telegram."

I was often struck by Lenin's readiness to help people whom he considered to be his enemies, and not only



readiness to help but even care for their future. One general, for example, a scientist, a chemist, was threatened with death. "H'm, h'm," said Lenin, after listening attentively to my story. "So you think he didn't know that his sons had hidden fire-arms in his laboratory? That seems rather unlikely. But we must leave it for Dzerzhinsky to unravel. He has a keen instinct for the truth." Several days later he rang me up in Petrograd and said, "We are letting your general go—I think he has already been set free. What does he intend to do?"

"Homoemulsion."

"Yes, yes—carbolic acid. Well, let him boil his carbolic. Tell me if he is in need of anything."

Lenin spoke ironically in order to conceal the joy which he did not wish to show, of saving a man's life. Several days later he asked again, "Well, how is the general getting on? Everything arranged?"

In Petersburg kitchens in 1919 there appeared a very beautiful woman who demanded severely, "Give me a bone for my dogs! I am Princess T." There was a story that, unable to bear any longer the degradation and the hunger, she resolved to throw herself in the Neva, but, so it was said, her four dogs who had an instinctive intuition of her sad intention, ran after her, and by their howls and anguish made her renounce her idea of committing suicide. I related this story to Lenin. Looking me up and down with a sidelong glance, screwing up his eyes and then closing them entirely he said gloomily, "Even if it is all made up, still, the idea is not a bad one. A joke of the revolution." He was silent. Then he got up and sorting the papers on the table, said thoughtfully, "Yes, those people are in great straits. History is a cruel step-mother, and when it is retaliating stops at nothing. What is there to say? It is bad for those people. The clever ones among them understand, of course, that they have been torn up by the roots and will never grow again; and transplantation in Europe won't satisfy the clever ones. You don't think they will strike root there, do you?" "I don't think they will." "That means that they will either go our way or attempt to make another intervention?" I asked him, "Did it only seem to me so, or did he really pity people?"

He answered, "I am sorry for the clever ones. We haven't enough clever people. We are for the most part, a talented people, but mentally lazy"; and recollecting several comrades who have outlived their class psychology and were working with the "Bolsheviks" he spoke of them with astonishing warmth.

Lenin's Qualities

A man of astounding strength of will, Lenin possessed in the highest degree the best qualities and properties of the revolutionary intelligentsia—self-discipline often amounting to self-torture and self-mutilation, in its most extreme form, to a renunciation of art, to the logic of one of the heroes of L. Andreyev: "Other people are living hard lives, and therefore I must live a hard life."

In the hard famine year of 1919 Lenin was ashamed to eat the food which was sent to him by comrades, soldiers and peasants from the provinces. When the parcels came to his bleak flat he would frown, grow embarrassed, and hasten to give the flour, sugar and butter to the sick comrades or those who were weak through lack of food. Once, when he was inviting me to dine with him, he said, "I shall give you some smoked fish—it was sent to me from Astrakhan"; and with a frown on his Socratic forehead, and turning his sharp glance away from me, he added, "They send things to me as though I were a lord! How can I prevent them doing it? If you refuse and don't accept it, they are hurt And everyone round me is hungry."

Quite without any private fads, a stranger to tobacco and wine, occupied from morning to night with complicated and difficult work, he had no idea of looking after himself, but kept a vigilant eye on the well-being of the comrades. He would sit at his table in his study, talking quickly and writing without taking pen from paper: "Good morning. How are you? I am just finishing. There is a comrade in the village feeling lonely—evidently tired. He must be cheered up. State of mind is not the least important thing!"

Once I came to him in Moscow. He asked, "Have you dined?" "Yes". "You are not prevaricating?"

"There are witnesses. I dined in the Kremlin dining-room."

"I heard that the dinners are not good there." "Not bad, but could be better." He immediately asked for details. "Why not good? In what way could they be improved?"; and began to mutter angrily. "Why can't they get an expert cook there? People working literally until they faint, they must be fed with good food so that they will eat more. I know there is very little food to be got, and that bad,—they must get a good cook there." Then he quoted the opinion of some hygienist about the part played by seasoning in the processes of eating and digestion. I asked, "How do you find time to think about such things?" He retorted with another question, "About rational feeding?" and by the tone of his voice I understood that my question was out of place.

An old acquaintance of mine, P. A. Skorokhodov, another Sormovo worker, a tender-hearted man, complained of the painfulness of work in the Tcheka.* I said to him, "I think that is not the right work for you. It isn't congenial to you." He agreed sadly, "Absolutely uncongenial." But after thinking a little, he said, "But you know Ilyitch, too, has to stifle his emotions, and I am ashamed to be so weak."

I knew and still know many workers who had to, and have to, grit their teeth hard, and stifle their emotions, to overcome their organic "Social idealism" for the sake of the triumph of the cause they are serving. Did Lenin, too, have to stifle his emotions? He paid too little attention to himself to talk about himself to others: he, more than anyone, could keep silent the secret agitation of his soul. Once, however, in Gorky, when he was caressing some children, he said, "These will have happier lives than we had. They will not experience much that we lived by. There will not be so much cruelty in their lives." Then looking into the distance, to the hills where the village nestled, he added pensively,

* Abbreviated name for the Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter revolution and Sabotage; since the defeat of Counter-revolution renamed State Political Administration (OGPU).—*Ed.*

" And yet, I don't envy them. Our generation achieved something of amazing significance for history. The cruelty, which the conditions of our life made necessary, will be understood and vindicated. Everything will be understood, everything." He caressed the children with great care, with an especially gentle and tender touch.

Once I came to him and saw " War and Peace " lying on the table. " Yes. Tolstoy. I wanted to read over the scene of the hunt, then remembered that I had to write to a comrade. Absolutely no time for reading. Only last night I managed to read your book on Tolstoy." Smiling and screwing up his eyes, he stretched himself deliciously in his armchair, and lowering his voice added quickly, " What a Colossus, eh? What a marvellously developed brain! Here's an artist for you, sir. And do you know something still more amazing? You won't find a genuine moujik in literature until this count came on the scene? " Then screwing up his eyes and looking at me, he asked, " Can you put anyone in Europe beside him? ", and replied himself. " No one." And he rubbed his hands together, laughing contentedly.

I more than once noticed in him this trait—this pride in Russian literature. Sometimes this feature appeared to me strangely foreign to Lenin's nature, appeared even naive, but I learnt to hear in it the echo of his deep-seated, joyful love for his fatherland. In Capri, while watching how the fishermen carefully disentangle the nets, torn and entangled by the sharks, he observed, " Our men work more quickly." When I cast some doubt on this remark, he said with a touch of vexation, " H'm, h'm. Don't you think you are forgetting Russia, living on this bump? "

V. A. Dyesnitsky-Stroyev told me that he was once travelling through Sweden with Lenin in a train, and looking at a German monograph on Durer. Some Germans, sitting in the same carriage, asked him what the book was. Later it appeared that they had never heard of their great artist. This almost roused enthusiasm in Lenin, and twice he said to Dyesnitsky proudly, " They don't know their own artists, but we do." One evening in Moscow in E. P. Pyeshkovskaja's flat, Lenin was listening to a sonata of Beethoven which was being play-

ed by Isaiah Dobrowein, and said, "I know nothing which is greater than the Appassionata; I would like to listen to it every day. It is marvellous superhuman music. I always think with pride—perhaps it is naive of me—what marvellous things human beings can do!" Then screwing up his eyes and smiling, he added rather sadly, "But I can't listen to music too often. It affects your nerves, makes you want to say stupid, nice things, and stroke the people's heads who could create such beauty when they were living in this vile hell; and now you mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off. You have to hit them on the head, without any mercy, although our ideal is not to use force against anyone. H'm, h'm, our duty is infernally hard!"

When he himself was nearly a sick man, quite worn out, he wrote to me on the 9th of August, 1921:

"A.M.!

"I sent on your letter to L. B. Kamenev.* I am so tired that I am incapable of the slightest work. And you are spitting blood, and yet, don't go away? That really is disgracefully imprudent. In Europe, in a good sanatorium you will get well and be able to do something else worth while. Really, really. But here you can neither get well, nor do anything. There is nothing for you here but bother, useless bother. Go away and get well. Don't be obstinate, I implore you!

Yours

Lenin."

For more than a year, he insisted with astonishing persistence that I should leave Russia. I was amazed that, entirely absorbed in work as he was, he should remember that there was a sick person somewhere in need of rest. He wrote letters like this to different people—scores, probably.

Attitude Toward Comrades

I have already described his quite exceptional attitude to the comrades, his attention to them, which penetrated

* Tried and found guilty of Fifth Column Activity in 1936.—*Ed.*

down even to the smallest details of their lives. But in this feature of his I never caught the note of that self-interested care which a clever master sometimes exhibits towards an honest and expert workman. This was not the case with Lenin. His was exactly the heartfelt interest of a sincere comrade, the love which exists between equals. I know that it is impossible to consider as Lenin's equals even the greatest people in his party, but he himself didn't seem to realise this, or more probably, did not want to realise it. He was sometimes sharp with people, when arguing with them, pitilessly ridiculed them, even laughed at them in a venomous fashion. All this he did. But how many times, when judging the people, whom yesterday he was criticizing and rebuking, there was clearly evident the note of genuine wonder at their talents and moral steadfastness; at their unflagging labour in the abominable conditions of 1918-1921, work amid spies of all countries and parties, amid the plots which swelled like festering sores on the body of the war-exhausted country. They worked without rest, they ate little and badly, they lived amid ceaseless alarms But Lenin himself did not seem to feel the hardness of these conditions, of the unforeseen dangers of a society which had been shaken to the very foundations by the murderous storms of civil strife. Only once did anything like a complaint escape him, and that was when he was talking with M. F. Andreyeva, in his room. "What else can we do, dear M. F.? We have no alternative but to fight. Do we find it hard? Of course we do. You think it is not hard for me? It is, and very hard too. But look at Dzerzhinsky. He is beginning to look like nothing at all. There is nothing to be done about it. It is better to suffer than to fail." The only regret he ever expressed in my presence was: "I am sorry, deeply sorry that Martov is not with us. What a splendid comrade he was, what an absolutely sincere man!" I remember how long and heartily he laughed at reading Martov's remark somewhere, "There are only two communists in Russia, Lenin and Kollontay." He laughed and then sighed, "What a clever woman she is!" It was with genuine respect and wonder that he remarked after conducting one comrade—and administrator, out of

his study, "Have you known him for long? He would be at the head of the cabinet in any country in Europe." Rubbing his hands together and smiling, he added: "Europe is poorer than we are in talent."

Once I proposed that we should go together to the Chief Artillery Department to see an apparatus which had been invented by a Bolshevik, an old artillery man, to adjust artillery fire directed against aeroplanes. "What do I understand about that?" he said, but went with me.

In a dark room round a table on which stood the apparatus, were gathered seven generals with scowling faces, grey, bewhiskered old men, all scientists. Among them the modest civilian figure of Lenin was lost, dropped into insignificance. The inventor began to explain the construction of the apparatus. Lenin listened to him for two or three minutes, then said approvingly, "H'm, h'm", and began to question the man with as much ease as if he were examining him on some political question. "And how do you manage to get the machine to do two things simultaneously, when it is laying the sight? Would it be impossible to form an automatic connection between the mounting of the barrel and the indications of the mechanism?" He asked how far the dangerous space extended, and something else. The inventor and the generals gave eager explanations, and next day the former said to me, "I had told my generals that you were coming with a comrade, but I didn't say who the comrade was. They didn't recognize Ilyitch and probably would never have imagined that he could appear without a great deal of ceremony, or a bodyguard. They asked me, 'Is he a technical engineer or a professor? What? Lenin? What a surprise! How is it possible? How does he know so much about these things we're concerned with? He asked those questions like a technologist.' What mystification!" Apparently they didn't really believe that it was Lenin. On the way from the Chief Artillery Department Lenin kept chuckling, and talked about the inventor. "See how easily you can be mistaken in a man! I knew that he was an honest old comrade, but *qui n'a pas inventé la poudre*! [who has not invented powder]. But that seems to be precisely

in his line. Good fellow! And didn't the generals go for me when I expressed my doubts as to the practical value of the apparatus? And I did it on purpose, wanted to know what they thought of the ingenious contrivance." He shook with laughter, then asked, "Tell me, has I. any more inventions to his credit? Well, he oughtn't to work at anything else. Ah, if only we could give all these technical engineers ideal conditions for their work! In twenty-five years Russia would be the foremost country in the world."

Yes, he often praised the comrades in my hearing, even those with whom he was not personally in sympathy. Lenin knew how to give what was due to their energy! I was very surprised at his high appreciation of L. D. Trotsky's organizing abilities. V. Ilyitch noticed my surprise. "Yes, I know there are lying rumours about my attitude to him. But what is, is, and what isn't, isn't,—that I know also. He was able at any rate to organize the military experts." After a pause he added in a lower tone, and rather sadly, "And yet he isn't one of us. With us, but not of us. He is ambitious. There is something of Lassalle in him, something which isn't good." These words "with us, but not of us" he used twice in my hearing, the second time about another prominent man, who died soon after V. Ilyitch himself. V. Ilyitch understood people very well, as was natural Once when I went into his study, I found there a man who was backing to the door and bowing at the same time to V. Ilyitch, and V. I. continued his writing without raising his eyes. "Do you know him?" he asked, pointing towards the door. I said I had come into contact with him twice—over the "Universal Literature" business. "Well?" "An ignorant, uncultured person, I should say." "H'm, h'm, a certain toady and probably a scoundrel. But this is the first time I have seen him, and I may be mistaken." V. Ilyitch was not mistaken. Several months later this man justified Lenin's description to the full. He thought a lot about people because, as he said, "Our apparatus is very unequal. Since October many elements have crept in. Your pious and beloved intelligentsia are to blame for that—that is the result of their mean

sabotage." He said this to me when we were walking in Gorky. I began speaking about Alexinsky, I don't remember why, probably he was up to one of his dirty tricks at the time. "You can picture it to yourself. At our first meeting I had a feeling of physical repulsion to him. I couldn't conquer it. No one has ever given me such a feeling before. We had to do some work together. I had to use every method to keep myself in check,—it was very awkward. I felt—I simply cannot stand this degenerate." Then shrugging his shoulders in amazement, he said, "But I never saw through that scoundrel Malinovsky. That was a very mysterious affair, Malinovsky."

To me he was a strict teacher, and devoted friend. "You are an enigmatical person," he said to me jokingly. "In literature you seem to be a good realist—and in your attitude to people, a romanticist. Are all people victims of history, for you? We know history, and we say to the victims, 'Overturn the altars! Break down the temples! Down with the gods!' And you want to convince me that the militant party of the working class is bound first of all to make the intelligentsia comfortable."

I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that V. Ilyitch liked talking to me. He almost always suggested, "Come and see me—ring up, we will meet." Once he said: "It's cuirous to talk to you. You have a varied and wide circle of impressions." He would ask about the attitude of the intelligentsia, he was especially interested in the scientists. At that time I was working with N. B. Chalatov on the "Committee for Improving the Conditions of the Scientists."

Proletarian Literature

He was interested in the proletarian literature. "What do you think will come out of it?" I said that I expected a great deal, but considered it necessary to organize a "Litvuz"* with chairs of philology, foreign languages—Western and Oriental, of folklore, of the

* Institute for the study of literature.

history of universal literature, and of Russian literature separately. "H'm, h'm", he said screwing up his eyes, and chuckling. "Very wide and very dazzling! I am not against its being wide—but if it is to be dazzling—eh? We haven't professors of our own for these subjects, and the bourgeois professors will teach history of a sort. No, I don't think we must set about that yet. We must wait for three or five years"

Then he would complain, "Have absolutely no time for reading!" He frequently and with strong emphasis referred to the value of Demyan Bedny's work for propaganda, but added: "It is somewhat crude. He follows the reader whereas he ought to be a little way ahead."

He mistrusted Mayakovsky,* and was even rather irritated by him. "He shouts, invents some sort of distorted words, and doesn't get anywhere in my opinion—and besides is incomprehensible. It is all disconnected, difficult to read. He is talented? Very talented even? H'm, h'm. We shall see. But doesn't it seem to you that people are writing a lot of poetry now? There are whole pages of it in the newspapers and volumes of it appear every day." I remarked that it was natural for youth to be attracted to poetry at such a time, and that in my opinion it is easier to write mediocre verse than good prose, and poetry takes less time. In addition we have many good teachers of the art of versifying. "I don't believe it's easier to write verse than prose. I can't imagine it. I couldn't write two lines of poetry if you flayed me alive." Then he frowned. "We must spread among the masses all the old revolutionary literature—all that we have here and in Europe."

He was a Russian who lived for a long time away from his native land, and had examined it attentively—from afar it appears brighter and more beautiful. He estimated accurately its potential forces, and the exceptional talents of its people, which were as yet feebly expressed, unawakened by a history monotonous and oppressive, yet

* Later overcame his shortcomings and was considered by Stalin to be the Soviet Union's best poet.—*Ed.*

gleamed everywhere like golden stars against the sombre background of the fantastic life of Russia.

Vladimir Lenin, profoundly and greatly a man of this world, is dead. His death is a grievous blow to the hearts of those who knew him, grievous indeed.

But the darkness of death only emphasizes the more strongly to the world, his great importance—his importance as the leader of the working class of the world.

And if the dark cloud of hatred, of lies and calumny, were even denser than it is, it would matter not at all. There is no force which can put out the torch which Lenin raised aloft in the stifling darkness of a mad world.

And no other man has so well deserved the eternal remembrance of the world.

Vladimir Lenin is dead. But the inheritors of his thought and will are alive. They live and carry on a work which is more victorious than any other in the history of mankind.

LANDMARKS IN THE

1870-1893

April 22, 1870 *Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk*	Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov (Lenin) born
August 1879 *Simbirsk*	Lenin enters the Simbirsk High School
June 22, 1887 *Simbirsk*	Lenin graduates Simbirsk High School
August 25, 1887 *Kazan*	Lenin enters the Law Faculty of the University of Kazan
December 17, 1887 *Kazan*	Lenin arrested for taking part in a students' meeting and expelled from the university
December 19, 1887	Lenin banished to the village of Kokushkino, Province of Kazan, under police surveillance
Autumn 1888 *to May* 1889	Lenin returns to Kazan. Studies Marx's *Capital* and joins a secret Marxist circle.
1889-1893 *Samara*	Lenin carries on propaganda of revolutionary Marxism in secret youth organizations
November 27, 1891	Lenin brilliantly passes the examination of the Faculty of Law of St. Petersburg University as an external student and is awarded a first-class diploma
August 29, 1893	Lenin leaves for St. Petersburg to carry on revolutionary activities among the workers
Autumn 1893 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin reads his article "Regarding the So-called Problem of Markets" to a secret Marxist circle

LIFE OF LENIN

1894-1901

Spring and summer 1894 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin writes his book, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight Against the Social-Democrats*
Autumn and winter 1894. *St. Petersburg*	Lenin conducts workers' study circles and criticizes "legal Marxism" as a bourgeois liberal trend
March 1895 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin attends a conference of members of Marxist groups from various cities of Russia
May 7, 1895	Lenin goes abroad and establishes connections with Plekhanov and other members of the "Emancipation of Labor" Group
June 1895, Paris	Lenin makes the acquaintance of Paul Lafargue
September-October 1895	Lenin holds secret conferences with Social-Democrats in Vilna, Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo
October-December 1895	Lenin works to unite all the Marxist workers' circles in St. Petersburg to form the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class
December 20, 1895 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin arrested
January 1896 *to February* 1897 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin guides the League of Struggle from prison, where he writes a pamphlet entitled *On Strikes*, a leaflet entitled *To the Tsarist Government* and a draft of a program for the Party, and also works on his book, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*
March 6, 1897 *Moscow*	Lenin banished to the village of Shushenskoye in the Yenisei Province, Eastern Siberia

1894-1901

'WHAT THE 'FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE' ARE AND HOW THEY FIGHT AGAINST THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS"

This book was printed illegally on a mimeograph in 1894. It played a great part in securing the victory of Marxism over Narodism in Russia. In this, his first big work, Lenin, over forty years ago, outlined the main tasks of the Russian Marxists, correctly pointed out the path of struggle of the working class, defined its role as the foremost revolutionary force in society, and that of the peasantry as the ally of the working class. The book concludes with the following prophetic words:

> "..... The Russian *worker*, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the *Russian proletariat* (side by side with the proletariat of *all countries*) *along the straight road of open political struggle towards the victorious Communist revolution.*"

End of 1897 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin writes the pamphlet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*, outlining a program for a Russian Social-Democratic Party
July 22, 1898 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin marries Nedezhda Krupskaya who was also in exile in Shushenskoye
February 11, 1899 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin completes his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*
September 1899 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin writes the "Protest of the Russian Social-Democrats" against the manifesto ("Credo") of the "Economists." The protest is approved at a conference of Marxists in exile called by Lenin
End of 1899 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin writes a draft program for the Party
February 10, 1900 *Shushenskoye*	Lenin's term of exile ends. He is forbidden to live in Moscow, St. Petersburg and a number of provincial capitals
February-July 1900 *Ufa, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Pskov*	Lenin holds a number of conferences with Marxists to discuss the publication of an all-Russian illegal Marxist newspaper abroad
June 3, 1900 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin arrested for having returned to the capital without permission. Held under arrest for ten days
July 29, 1900	Lenin goes abroad as a political refugee
August-December 1900, *Zurich, Geneva, Nuremberg, Munich, Leipzig, Vienna*	Lenin holds conferences with Marxists and makes arrangements for the publication of *Iskra*
December 24, 1900 *Munich*	Publication of first issue of *Iskra* (the first all-Russian revolutionary Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin)

" THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS "

Geneva, 1898

The pamphlet was written by Lenin at the end of 1897, while he was in exile and was printed in Geneva in 1898. In it Lenin indicated the lines along which the Russian Marxists should work, and called for the union of all the workers' circles and Social-Democratic groups scattered throughout Russia into a single Social-Democratic Labor Party. The book ends with the lines :

> " And so, to work, Comrades ! Let us not lose precious time ! The Russian Social-Democrats have much to do to meet the requirements of the awakening of the proletariat, to organize the labor movement, to strengthen the revolutionary groups and their contacts with each other, to supply the workers with propaganda and agitational literature, and to unite the workers' circles and Social-Democratic groups scattered all over Russia into a single *Social-Democratic Labor Party* ! "

" THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA "

St. Petersburg, 1899

Lenin's book, " The Development of Capitalism in Russia," is a highly important scientific work. It completed the ideological defeat of Narodism and contributed immensely to the victory of Marxism in Russia. It was begun while the author was still in prison and completed during his exile. It was first published in St. Petersburg in 1899. Lenin wrote this book under the name of Vladimir Ilyin. The pseudonym he later adopted was Nikolai Lenin.

1901-1904

May 1901	Lenin's article "Where To Begin" printed in *Iskra* No. 4. The article outlined the plan for the building of a party which he later developed in *What Is To Be Done?*
1902, *Munich, London*	Lenin works on the drafting of a party program
March 1902	Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done?* published in Stuttgart
April 12, 1902	Lenin removes from Munich to London in connection with the transfer of the headquarters of *Iskra* to that city
May 1903	Lenin removes from London to Geneva in connection with the transfer of the headquarters of *Iskra* to that city
May 1903	Lenin's pamphlet *To the Rural Poor* published in Geneva
July 30-August 23, 1903. *Brussels, London*	Lenin takes an active part at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (R. S. D. L. P.). He is elected vice-chairman of the congress. The congress elects him to the editorial board of *Iskra*
November 1, 1903 *Geneva*	Lenin resigns from the *Iskra* editorial board when Plekhanov sides with the Mensheviks
November 1903	Lenin co-opted on the Central Committee of the Party and is appointed the representative of the Central Committee abroad

1901-1904

" WHAT IS TO BE DONE? "

March 1902

Lenin's book " What Is To Be Done? " was the ideological preparation for a revolutionary Marxist Party, a party of a new type. In this book Lenin set forth a plan for building the party of the working class, laid bare for the first time in the history of Marxist thought the ideological roots of opportunism, showing that they primarily consisted in worshipping spontaneity in the working-class movement. In this book Lenin brought out the great importance of theory, of consciousness, and of the Party as the revolutionizing and guiding force of the spontaneous working-class movement, and brilliantly substantiated the fundamental Marxist thesis that a Marxist party is a union of the working-class movement with Socialism.

" THE AGRARIAN PROGRAM OF RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY "

February-March, 1902

That an " agrarian program " is essential for the Russian Social-Democratic Party need hardly be shown at length. By an agrarian program we mean a definition of the guiding principles of the Social-Democratic policy on the agrarian question, that is, policy towards agriculture and the various classes, sections and groups of the rural population. Naturally, in a " peasant " country like Russia, the agrarian program of the Socialists is largely, if not exclusively, a " peasant program," a program defining their attitude towards the peasant question. Big landowners, hired agricultural laborers, and " peasants " —such are the three main divisions of the rural population in every capitalist country, Russia included.....

This article explained the agrarian section of the draft program which was subsequently adopted by the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Already, at that time Lenin was in favor of the nationalization of the land, but he considered it necessary in the

End of 1908 *Geneva*	Lenin writes to Stalin in Siberia, where the latter is in exile, informing him of the state of affairs in the Party and outlining a plan of work for the Party in the immediate future
May 19, 1904	Lenin's book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, published in Geneva
August 1904 *Geneva*	Lenin presides over a conference of twenty-two Bolsheviks to discuss the convening of a Third Congress of the Party
November 1904	Lenin's pamphlet *The Zemstvo Campaign and the "Iskra" Plan*, criticising the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks, published in Geneva
January 4, 1905	*Vperyod*, a Bolshevik newspaper directed by Lenin, begins publication in Geneva for illegal distribution in Russia

first stage of the struggle to put forward the demand for the return to the peasants of the *otrezki*, that is, those portions of the land which had been cut off the peasants' land by the landlords at the time of the " emancipation " of the peasants in 1861. Plekhanov was opposed to the demand for the nationalization of the land.

* * *

The Second Party Congress opened on July 30, 1903. The chief purpose of the Congress was " to create a REAL party on that basis of principles and organization which had been advanced and elaborated by *Iskra* " (Lenin). The Congress adopted a Program and Rules, created the Social-Democratic Party, and thus built the framework of a single party.

Fierce disputes arose over the Party Rules. Two different formulations contested the ground: Lenin's formulation, which was supported by Plekhanov and the firm *Iskra*-ists; and Martov's formulation, which was supported by Axelrod, Zasulich, the unstable *Iskra*-ists, Trotsky, and all the avowed opportunists at the Congress. According to Lenin's formulation, one could be a member of the Party who accepted its program, supported it financially and belonged to one of its organizations. The Leninists fought at the Congress for a monolithic, disciplined and militant party with a clearly defined organization.

" ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK "

Geneva, 1904

Lenin's book " One Step Forward, Two Steps Back ", was the organizational preparation for the Bolshevik Party, the party of a new type. The importance of this book lies primarily in the fact that it successfully upheld the Party principle against the circle principle, and the Party against the disorganizers; that it smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on questions of organization and laid the organizational foundations of the Bolshevik Party. In this book, for the first time in the history of Marxism, Lenin elaborated the doctrine of the

1905-1907

January 14, 1905 *Geneva*	In an article entitled, " The Fall of Port Arthur ", printed in *Vperyod*, Lenin points to the approach of revolution in Russia
January 26, 1905 *Geneva*	Lenin addresses a meeting of Bolsheviks on the events of January 9 (22)
February 7, 1905 *Geneva*	Lenin rejects the proposal to disband the Bolshevik organization made by Bebel on the pretext of effecting a reconciliation between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks

Party as the leading organization of the proletariat, as the principal weapon of the proletariat, without which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won.

1905-1907

" THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA "

Editorial in " Vperyod ", No. 4, January 1905

" The eyes of the proletariat of the whole world are now turned in feverish impatience towards the proletariat of all Russia. The overthrow of tsardom in Russia, so valiantly begun by our working class, will be a turning point in the history of all countries, will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe. And let every Social-Democrat, every class-conscious worker, remember what great tasks of the people's struggle now rest on his shoulders. Let him not forget that he represents the needs and the interests of the entire peasantry as well, of the entire mass of the toiling and exploited, of the entire people, against the enemy of the entire people. The proletarian heroes of St. Petersburg now stand as an example in the eyes of all.

Long live the Revolution!

Long live the proletariat in revolt! "

From " The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia ", the first of a series of articles written by Lenin directly after " Bloody Sunday ", January 9 (22) 1905.

In this and the subsequent articles Lenin insistently pointed out that the need of the hour was to make ready for insurrection and to arm the workers and the people.

LENIN'S LECTURE

On the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of Bloody Sunday, January 9, 1905, Lenin delivered a lecture on the 1905 Revolution at a youth meeting in the People's Hall in Zurich.

April 25-*May* 10, 1905, *London*	Lenin guides the work of the Third Congress of the R. S. D. L. P.
May 27, 1905	*Proletary*, a Bolshevik newspaper edited by Lenin, intended for illegal distribution in Russia, begins publication in Geneva
July 4, 1905 *Geneva*	Lenin appeals to the International Socialist Bureau to issue a manifesto to the workers of the world calling upon them to prevent the European powers from aiding the tsarist government in suppressing the revolt on the battleship *Potemkin*

He dwelt on the general course of the 1905 Revolution, its motive forces and its social character. He also stressed its international significance. The Russian revolution had broken the spell of silence in Europe and started a resurgence of the revolutionary movement among the proletariat of Western Europe. It was under the direct influence of the 1905 Revolution that the peoples of Asia were stirred into action, that the revolutions in Persia, Turkey and China took place, and that universal suffrage was introduced in Austria.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE OF R. S. D. L. P. BY LENIN FOR THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE R. S. D. L. P. HELD IN LONDON,

April-May 1905

1. Whereas the proletariat, being by its very status the foremost and most consistent revolutionary class, is for that reason called upon to play the role of leader and guide of the general-democratic revolutionary movement in Russia;

2. Whereas only the performance of this role during the revolution will ensure the proletariat the most advantageous position in the ensuing struggle for Socialism against the possessing classes of the bourgeois-democratic Russia about to be born;

3. And whereas the proletariat can perform this role only if it is organized under the banner of Social-Democracy into an independent political force and if it acts in the strikes and demonstrations with the greatest possible unity;

Therefore, the Third Congress of the R. S. D. L. P. resolves that the task of organizing the forces of the proletariat for the direct struggle against the autocracy by means of mass political strikes and armed uprising, and of setting up for this purpose an apparatus for information and guidance, is one of the chief tasks of the Party at the present revolutionary moments for which reason the Congress charges both the Central Committee and the local committees and federations to proceed to prepare for a mass political strike, as well as to organize

August 1905	Publication of Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* in Geneva
October 24, 1905 *Geneva*	Lenin, in *Proletary*, speaks highly of Stalin's article " Reply to a Social-Democrat "
October 1905	The Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P. appoints Lenin the representative of the Party on the International Socialist Bureau
November 20 *or* 21, 1905	Lenin returns to Russia

special groups for the acquisition and distribution of arms, and *for drawing up a plan for the armed uprising and directly leading it*. This task should be carried out in such a way as not to impair the general work of arousing the class-consciousness of the proletariat, but, on the contrary, to help to make it more thorough and successful.

" THE TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION " Geneva, 1905

The historic significance of Lenin's book " The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution " consists above all in the fact that it ideologically shattered the petty-bourgeois tactical line of the Mensheviks, armed the working class of Russia for the further development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, for a new onslaught on tsardom, and put before the Russian Social-Democrats a clear perspective of the necessity of the bourgeois revolution passing into the Socialist revolution.

This work enriched Marxism with a new theory of revolution and laid the foundation for the revolutionary tactics of the Bolshevik Party with the help of which in 1917 the proletariat of Russia achieved the victory over capitalism.

Lenin's " Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution " was the political preparation for the Bolshevik Party.

" THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE PEASANTRY "—Editorial in " Vperyod ", No. 14, 1905

Lenin's article was aimed at the Mensheviks, who held that it would be wrong for the Social-Democratic Party to collaborate in a provisional revolutionary government. " If what we want is not only concessions from the autocracy ", Lenin wrote, " but the latter's actual overthrow, then we must work for the replacement of the tsarist government by a provisional revolutionary government, which,

December 25-30, 1905, *Tammerfors (Finland)*	Lenin presides at a conference of the R. S. D. L. P. in Tammerfors, where he and Stalin meet for the first time
April 23-*May* 8, 1906. *Stockholm*	Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R. S. D L. P. Lenin elected to the Presidium of the Congress and presides at thirteen of its sittings. He introduces several of the chief items on the agenda. His line is strongly supported at the Congress by Stalin.
May 1906 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin addresses meetings on the Fourth Party Congress. Edits the Bolshevik legally-published daily *Volna*
May 22, 1906 *St. Petersburg*	Under the name of Karpov, Lenin addresses a public meeting in the People's Hall, St. Petersburg
June 1906	Lenin edits the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*, started to replace *Volna*, which had been suppressed by the tsarist government
July 1906 *St. Petersburg*	Lenin edits the Bolshevik newspaper *Echo*, started to replace *Vperyod*, which had been suppressed by the tsarist government

on the one hand, would convene a constituent assembly on the basis of really universal, direct and equal suffrage and secret ballot, and, on the other hand, would be in a position to ensure in practice complete liberty during the elections. If, after January 9, in conditions of political slavery, the Russian working class was able to mobilize more than a million proletarians for firm and consistent collective action, then, in conditions of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, we shall mobilize tens of millions of poor in town and country, we shall make the Russian political revolution the prelude to the European Socialist revolution."

J. STALIN, FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE KREMLIN MILITARY SCHOOL, January 28, 1924

" I first met Lenin in December 1905 at the Bolshevik Conference in Tammerfors (Finland). I was hoping to see the mountain eagle of our Party, the great man, great not only politically but, if you will, physically, because in my imagination I pictured Lenin as a giant, stately and imposing. What, then, was my disappointment to see a most ordinary-looking man, below average height, in no way, literally in no way, distinguishable from ordinary mortals.....

" It is accepted as the usual thing for a " great man " to come late to meetings so that the people gathered at the meeting may await his appearance with bated breath; and then, just before the great man enters, the warning whisper goes up : " Hush..... Silence..... He's coming." This rite did not seem to me superfluous, because it creates an impression, inspires respect. What, then, was my disappointment to learn that Lenin had arrived at the conference before the delegates, had settled himself somewhere in a corner, and was unassumingly carrying on a conversation, a most ordinary conversation with most ordinary delegates at the conference. I will not conceal from you that at that time this seemed to me to be rather a violation of certain essential rules.

" Only later did I realize that this simplicity and modesty, this striving to remain unobserved, or, at least,

September 3, 1906	First issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*, edited by Lenin, appears in St. Petersburg
November 16-20, 1906. *Tammerfors (Finland)*	Lenin takes a leading part in the Second All-Russian Conference of the R. S. D. L. P. He makes the report on the subject of the elections to the Second State Duma
May 13-*June* 1, 1907. *London*	Lenin presides over the work of the Fifth Congress of the R. S. D. L. P., at which Stalin takes an active part. The standpoint of the Bolsheviks prevails at the Congress
August 3-5, 1907 *Kotka (Finland)*	Lenin takes a leading part in the Third All-Russian Conference of the R. S. D. L. P. The conference adopts Lenin's resolution opposing a boycott of the Duma
August 18-24, 1907 *Stuttgart*	Lenin attends the Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart. The Congress adopts amendments to Bebel's resolution moved by Lenin, giving a precise definition of the tasks of the proletariat in relation to war. Lenin calls a conference of Left delegates at the Congress
November 18-25, 1907. *Helsingfors (Finland)*	Lenin takes a leading part in the Fourth All-Russian Conference of the R. S. D. L. P. The conference adopts the resolutions submitted by the Bolsheviks
End of November 1907	Lenin hides from the police in Aggelby (a small village near Helsingfors, Finland)
December 1907 *Finland*	Lenin completes his book. *The Agrarian Program of the Social-Democrats in the First Russian Revolution*, 1905-1907

not to make himself conspicuous and not emphasise his high position—that this feature was one of Lenin's strongest points as the new leader of the new masses, of the simple and ordinary masses of the very " rank and file " of humanity."

LENIN'S SECOND FLIGHT FROM RUSSIA

December 1907

After the defeat of the 1905 Revolution, the reaction gained the upper hand in Russia and in December 1907, to avoid arrest, Lenin was obliged to leave the country for the second time.

Secret service agents armed with warrants for Lenin's arrest were watching the quay at the Finnish port of Abo, where steamers left for Stockholm. Lenin therefore had to cross to an island some three kilometers away over thin ice, and there embark for Stockholm.

" THE AGRARIAN PROGRAM OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS IN THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION " 1905-1907.

Conclusion :

" The agrarian question forms the basis of the bourgeois revolution in Russia, and accounts for its national peculiarity.

" The essence of this question is the struggle of the peasantry for the abolition of landlordism and the remnants of serfdom in the agricultural system of Russia, and, consequently, in all her social and political institutions.

" Ten and a half million peasant households in European Russia own 75,000,000 dessiatins of land. Thirty thousand landlords, chiefly aristocratic but partly also " common ", each own 500 dessiatins and over—a total of 70,000,000 dessiatins. Such is the general background of the picture....."

1908-1912

***January* 7, 1908**	Lenin a political refugee for the second time. He goes to Geneva
***February* 1908**	Publication of first issue of the *Social-Democrat*, the central organ of the R. S. D. L. P., directed by Lenin
April 1908 *Isle of Capri*	Lenin visits Maxim Gorki
May-June 1908 *London*	Lenin works in the British Museum on his book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*
October 10-12, 1908. *Brussels*	Lenin attends an international conference of Socialist journalists and a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau
December 1908	Lenin removes to Paris with the transfer of the headquarters of *Proletary* to that city
January 8-9, 1909. *Paris*	Lenin guides the work of the Fifth All-Russian Conference of the R. S. D. L. P.; he makes the report on the political situation and the tasks of the Party

Lenin wrote this book in 1907. It was printed in 1908, but was confiscated by the police while still in the printer's hands and destroyed. It was reprinted in 1917. In this work Lenin substantiated in detail and defended the Bolshevik agrarian program.

1908-1912

" INFLAMMABLE MATERIAL IN WORLD POLITICS " Editorial " Proletary " August 5, 1908

" The revolutionary movement in the various countries of Europe and Asia has of late manifested itself so formidably that we can quite clearly discern a new and incomparably higher stage in the international struggle of the proletariat.

" In Persia, a counter-revolution has taken place, peculiarly combining the features of the Russian dispersal of the First Duma with the Russian uprising of the end of 1905. The armies of the Russian tsar, having suffered shameful defeat at the hands of the Japanese, are taking revenge by displaying their zeal in the service of the counter-revolution. The exploits in Russia —the shootings, punitive expeditions, bludgeonings and lootings—are being followed by the exploits of the same Cossacks in suppressing the revolution in Persia. That Nicholas Romanov, heading the Black Hundred landlords and the capitalists, who have been scared by strikes and civil war, should rage against the Persian revolutionaries is understandable, and this is not the first time that the devout Christian soldiers of Russia are playing the part of international hangmen. That England, pharisaically washing her hands, should maintain an obviously friendly neutrality towards the Persian reactionaries and champions of absolutism is a fact of a somewhat different order. The liberal English bourgeois, irritated by the growth of the labor movement at home, and scared by the rise of the revolutionary struggle in India, are ever more frequently, frankly and distinctly revealing what BEASTS the most " civilized " European " statesmen ", statesmen who have passed through the highest school of constitutionalism, become

May 1909	Lenin's book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy*, published in Moscow
June 21-30, 1909 *Paris*	Lenin presides at an enlarged meeting of the editorial board of *Proletary*, which was in effect the Bolshevik Central Committee
November 7, 1909. *Brussels*	Lenin attends and speaks at a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau
November 16, 1909. *Paris*	Lenin writes to Gorky, speaking highly of his literary work
January 15-*February* 5, 1910 *Paris*	Lenin attends a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P., and is elected an editor of the *Social-Democrat* and the representative of the Party on the International Socialist Bureau

when the masses are aroused and begin a struggle against capital, and against the capitalist colonial system, i.e., the system of enslavement, plunder and violence. The position of the Persian revolutionaries is a difficult one, in this land which the masters of India and the counter-revolutionary government of Russia were already about to divide up between them. But the stubborn struggle in Tabriz, the fact that the fortunes of war have repeatedly turned in favor of the revolutionaries when they seemed to be already utterly defeated, shows that even with the aid of Russian Lyakhovs and British diplomats, the Shah's bashibazouks are encountering the most determined resistance from below. A revolutionary movement which can put up military resistance to attempts at restoration, which compels the heroes of such attempts to turn to foreigners for aid, cannot be destroyed; and, under such circumstances, even the most complete triumph of the Persian reaction would merely be the prelude to new outbreaks of popular indignation....."

" MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM " 1909

Lenin's famous book, " Materialism and Empirio-Criticism " appeared in 1909. The book is a defence of the theoretical foundations of Marxism—dialectical and historical materialism—and a materialist generalization of everything important and essential acquired by science, and especially the natural sciences, in the course of a whole historical period, the period from Engels' death to the appearance of Lenin's " Materialism and Empirio-Criticism ". The book was the theoretical preparation for the Bolshevik Party.

August 1910 *Isle of Capri*	Lenin visits Maxim Gorky
August 28- *September* 3, 1910 *Copenhagen*	Lenin attends the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International. He calls a conference of Left delegates at the Congress
November 12, 1910	First issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Rabochaya Gazetta*, containing Lenin's article "The Lessons of the Revolution," appears in Paris
Nov.-Dec. 1910. *Paris*	Lenin writes several articles in connection with the death of Leo Tolstoy
December 29, 1910	The first issue of *Zvezda*, a Bolshevik legally-published weekly, containing Lenin's article entitled "Differences in the European Labor Movement," appears in St. Petersburg
June 5-17, 1911 *Paris*	Lenin arranges a number of conferences of members of the R. S. D. L. P. regarding the summoning of a plenum of the Central Committee and an all-Russian Party Conference
Summer 1911 *Longjumeau, France*	Lenin lectures at the school he organized for Party workers from Russia
September 23-24, 1911. *Zurich*	Lenin attends a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau
December 3,1911 *Paris*	Lenin speaks on behalf of the R. S. D. L. P. at the funeral of Paul and Laura Lafargue

1912-1914

January 18-30, 1912. *Prague*	Lenin guides the work of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Party Conference
May 5, 1912	The first issue of *Pravda*, a legally-published Bolshevik daily edited by Lenin and Stalin, appears in St. Petersburg
April-May 1912	In a number of articles, Lenin points to a new rise in the revolutionary tide in Russia
July 2, 1912 *Cracow*	Lenin removes to Cracow so as to be nearer to Russia for the more direct guidance of *Pravda* and the Bolshevik group in the State Duma
November 6, 1912 *Cracow*	Lenin invites Gorky to contribute regularly to *Pravda*
November 26, 1912 *Cracow*	Lenin sends for publication to *Pravda* the "Mandate of the Workingmen of St. Petersburg to Their Labor Deputy," drawn up by Stalin

1912-1914

MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R. S. D. L. P. (B.) ELECTED AT THE PRAGUE CONFERENCE, January 1912

The Prague Conference elected a Bolshevik Central Committee of the Party, consisting of Lenin, Stalin, Orjonikidze, Sverdlov, Spandaryan, Goloshchekin and others. Stalin and Sverdlov were elected to the Central Committee in their absence, as they were in exile at the time. Among the elected alternate members of the Central Committee was Kalinin. For the direction of revolutionary work in Russia a practical center (the Russian Bureau of the C. C.) was set up with Stalin at its head and including Sverdlov, Spandaryan, Orjonikidze, Kalinin and Goloshchekin.

"MANDATE OF THE WORKINGMEN OF ST. PETERSBURG TO THEIR LABOR DEPUTY" Stalin 1912.

The Bolshevik slogans in the elections to the Fourth Duma in 1912 were a democratic republic, an 8-hour day and the confiscation of the landed estates.

In St. Petersburg, the vast majority of the workers voted for the "Mandate of the Workingmen of St. Petersburg to Their Labor Deputy," which was drawn up by Stalin. The Mandate called attention to the tasks which had been left unaccomplished by the Revolution of 1905.

> "We think," the Mandate stated, "that Russia is on the eve of the onset of mass movements, which will perhaps be more profound than in 1905..... As in 1905, in the van of these movements will be the most advanced class in Russian society, the Russian proletariat. Its only ally can be the much-suffering peasantry, which is vitally interested in the emancipation of Russia."
>
> The Mandate declared that the future actions of the people should take the form of a struggle on two fronts —against the tsarist government and against the liberal bourgeoisie, which was seeking to come to terms with tsardom.

December 6, 1912
Cracow

Lenin writes to Stalin on how the Bolshevik members of the Duma should combat the liquidators

January 10-14, 1913. *Cracow*

Lenin presides over a conference of the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P and leading Party workers attended by Stalin

"SOME SPEECHES THAT SHOULD BE MADE BY THE WORKERS' DEPUTIES" November 1912.

In 1912 six members of the Bolshevik Party were elected to the Fourth State Duma.

The Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma maintained close connections with the Central Committee of the Party and with Lenin, from whom they received instructions. They were directly guided by Stalin while he was living in St. Petersburg. Lenin wrote this article in connection with the speeches in which the Social-Democratic deputies were to announce their program when the Duma opened.

"What leading ideas should form the basis of the FIRST speech by a working-class representative in the Duma?

Naturally, the workers will await the FIRST speech with particular impatience and particular interest. Naturally, it is from the first speech that they will expect the chief and main thing, a concentrated statement of views on the questions which agitate everybody especially, and which assume especial prominence in the political life of the country in general, and in the practice of the working-class movement (both political and *economic*) in particular.

The following are such questions:—

(1) *Continuity* of activity of the Social-Democratic group in the Fourth Duma. Continuity should be understood to mean the preservation of an *unbroken connection* with the Social-Democratic groups in all the earlier Dumas; and especial stress should be laid on the connection with the Social-Democratic group in the Second Duma, in view of the notorious attacks made on it by the counter-revolution.

It is important to emphasize this continuity, because, unlike the bourgeois parties, the working-class democrats see something *integral* and *unitary* in *their* work in the First, Second, Third and Fourth Dumas, and do not allow themselves to be diverted from their tasks, from

April 19, 1913	Appearance of No. 3 of the Bolshevik magazine, *Prosveshcheniye*, containing Lenin's article "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" and the first instalment of Stalin's article "The National Question and Social-Democracy" (continued in Nos. 4 and 5)
October 5-14, 1913	Lenin presides at a conference of the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P. with leading Party workers in Poronino, near Cracow
January-February 1914. *Brussels*	Lenin attends the Fourth Congress of the Lettish Social-Democratic Party
July 16-17, 1914 *Galicia*	Lenin instructs the Bolshevik delegation at a conference of representatives of Russian Social-Democrats of all trends convened by the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels

the pursuit of their unchanging aims, by any turn of events (or by any coups, such as the coup d'etat of June 3rd).

(2) The second thesis essential in the first speech by a working-class deputy is : Socialism. This, properly speaking, consists of two themes. One is that the Social-Democratic movement in Russia is one of the detachments of the international army of the Socialist proletariat. That is literally what Pokrovsky said in the Third Duma (see his statement in the Verbatim Reports, p. 328, official edition, Seventh Sitting, November 16, 1907). It is of course absolutely essential to mention this....."

" THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND MARXISM "

J. Stalin 1914.

Stalin in his book set forth and explained the Bolshevik theory on the national question, subjecting the Mensheviks' program of national cultural autonomy to devastating criticism. The book was written in the latter part of 1912 and the early part of 1913 and printed in Nos. 3-5 of Prosveschcheniye, a Bolshevik periodical. It first appeared in book form in 1914, published by the *Priboi*, St. Petersburg.

Lenin was the first to appreciate the great theroetical value of Stalin's writings on the national question. In a letter written to Gorky in 1913, he said :—

> " As to nationalism, I fully agree with you that this is a question that needs to be tackled seriously. We have a wonderful Georgian here who has sat down to write a big article for Prosveschcheniye and has collected ALL the Austrian and other material."

" THE NATIONAL PRIDE OF THE GREAT-RUSSIANS," Printed in " Social-Democrat ", December 12, 1914

> " " No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations," declared the greatest exponents of consistent democracy of the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels, who have become the teachers of the revolutionary proletariat. And we, the Great-Russian workers, who are

1914-MARCH 1917

August 8, 1914 *Novy Targ* (*Austria*)	Lenin arrested by the Austrian authorities
August 29, 1914	Lenin, on release from prison, leaves Austria for Switzerland
September 6, 1914 *Berne*	Lenin presides over a conference of Bolsheviks which adopts his theses on attitude towards the imperialist war
November 1, 1914 *Geneva*	The *Social-Democrat* (resumed after an interruption of about a year) publishes the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P. entitled "The Russian Social-Democrats and the War," drawn up by Lenin

filled with the sentiment of national pride, want at all costs a free and independent, a democratic, republican and proud Great Russia, which will base its relations with its neighbors on the human principle of equality, and not on the feudal principle of privilege, which is degrading to a great nation. And just because we want this, we say that we cannot, in the twentieth century, in Europe (even in far-eastern Europe), " defend the fatherland " except by fighting, by every revolutionary means, the monarchy, the landlords and the capitalists of our OWN fatherland, that is, the WORST enemies of our country; that Great-Russians cannot " defend the fatherland " unless they desire the defeat of tsardom in any war, as being the least evil for nine-tenths of the population of Great Russia, for tsardom not only oppresses nine-tenths of the population economically and politically, but also demoralizes, degrades, dishonors and prostitutes it, teaching it to oppress other nations and to cover up its shame by hypocritical supposedly-patriotic phrasemongering....."

1914-March 1917

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR

The following are the concluding parts of the Manifesto issued by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and published in the " Social-Democrat " No. 33 on November 1, 1914. The Manifesto of which the following is a part, was the first official document in which the Bolshevik Central Committee stated its attitude to the imperialist war of 1914-18. The Manifesto was drawn up by Lenin.

Feb. 27-*March* 4, 1915. *Berne*	Lenin presides at a conference of the foreign sections of the R. S. D. L. P.
March-April 1915 *Berne*	Lenin instructs the R. S. D. L. P speakers at the International Socialist Women's Conference and the International Socialist Youth Conference
August 23, 1915	Lenin's article "The Slogan of a United States of Europe" published in the *Social-Democrat*
September 5-8, 1915 *Zimmerwald*	Lenin attends the conference of internationalists in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, and forms the Zimmerwald Left group
October 18, 1915	The *Social - Democrat* publishes Lenin's article "A Few Theses," in which he outlines the chief tasks of the Bolshevik Party in working for a revolution in Russia and speaks of the Soviets as organs of insurrection and revolutionary government
January 1916	Appearance of the first issue of *Vorbote* (Herald), the organ of the Zimmerwald Left group, containing Lenin's article "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International."

" The only correct proletarian slogan is the transformation of the present imperialist war into a civil war, it was indicated by the experience of the Commune and outlined by the Basle resolution (1912), and it logically follows from all the conditions of an imperialist war among highly developed bourgeois countries. However difficult such a transformation may appear at any given moment, Socialists will never relinquish systematic, persistent and undeviating preparatory work in this direction once war has become a fact.

Only in this way can the proletariat shake off its dependence on the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and, in one form or another, more or less rapidly, take decisive steps towards the real freedom of nations and towards Socialism.

Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries !

Long live a proletarian International, freed from opportunism ! "

" THE SLOGAN OF A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE " Printed in " Social-Democrat ", August 23, 1915

In this article Lenin formulated his epoch-making conclusion that the victory of Socialism was possible first in several capitalist countries, or even in one capitalist country, taken singly.

This was a new and complete theory of the Socialist revolution, a theory affirming the possibility of the victory of Socialism in separate countries, a theory whose fundamentals were outlined by Lenin as far back as 1905 in his pamphlet " The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy In the Democratic Revolution."

April 24-30, 1916 *Kienthal*	Lenin attends the conference of internationalists in Kienthal, Switzerland, and heads its Left wing
June 1916, *Zurich*	Lenin completes his book "*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.*"
September-October 1916, *Zurich*	Publication of Lenin's article "The Program on War of the Proletarian Revolution"
January 22, 1917 *Zurich*	Lenin delivers a lecture at a youth meeting on the 1905 Revolution
Middle of March 1917. *Zurich*	Lenin receives the first news of the revolution in Russia and makes preparation for his earliest return to that country
March 18, 1917 *Switzerland*	Lenin delivers a lecture on the Paris Commune and the prospects of the revolution in Russia
March 20-23, 1917, *Zurich*	Lenin receives telegraphic greetings from Stalin returning to Petrograd from exile in Siberia

LENIN'S INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS DURING THE IMPERIALIST WAR 1914-1916

From the very outbreak of the war, Lenin began to muster forces for the creation of a new International, the Third International, in place of the Second International, which had suffered disgraceful bankruptcy. He carried on a voluminous correspondence, lectured in a number of cities, and took advantage of conferences and congresses of Socialist parties in various countries in order to weld together the Left, internationalist groups and trends and to prepare the ground for the formation of a Third, Communist International. He criticized the mistakes of the inconsistent internationalists among the Left Social-Democrats, such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, but at the same time he helped them to take the correct position.

"IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM"

Lenin's book on imperialism was written in January-June of 1916 and published under the name of N. Lenin (V. Ilyn). In it Lenin shows that imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism, a stage at which it has already become transformed from "progressive" capitalism into parasitic capitalism, decaying capitalism, and that imperialism is moribund capitalism.

This, of course, did not mean that capitalism would die away of itself, without a revolution of the proletariat, that it would just rot on the stalk. Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class capitalism cannot be overthrown. Therefore, while defining imperialism as moribund capitalism, Lenin showed in this book that "imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

On the basis of the facts concerning imperialist capitalism set forth in his remarkable book, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Lenin put forward a new theory, from which it follows that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is *impossible*, while the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is *possible*.

March 20-*April* 8, 1917. *Zurich*	Lenin writes his "Letters From Afar"
March 27, 1917 *Zurich*	Lenin addresses a meeting of Swiss workers on "The Tasks of the R. S. D. L. P. in the Russian Revolution"
April 9, 1917	Lenin leaves Switzerland for Russia

APRIL 1917-1918

April 16, 1917	Lenin arrives in Petrograd
April 17, 1917 *Petrograd*	Lenin announces his famous April Theses at a meeting of Bolsheviks
May 7-12, 1917 *Petrograd*	Lenin guides the work of the Seventh (April) Conference of the R. S. D. L. P.

" LETTERS FROM AFAR. FIRST STAGE OF THE FIRST REVOLUTION." March 20, Printed in *Pravda* of April 3, 1917

When the bourgeois-democratic revolution broke out in Russia on March 12 (February 27), 1917, Lenin was in Switzerland. When the news of the successful February Revolution reached him, he began to write his " Letters from Afar " The first letter, which he sent to " Pravda " disclosed the bourgeois character of the Provisional Government and called upon the Russian proletariat to march forward, to the Socialist revolution. Lenin wrote :—

> " Workers, you have displayed marvels of proletarian heroism, the heroism of the people, in the civil war against tsardom. You must now display marvels of organisation, organisation of the proletariat and of the whole people, in order to prepare the way for your victory in the second stage of the revolution."

April 1917-1918

APRIL 16, 1917

On alighting from the train, Lenin mounted an armored car in the square outside the railway station and addressed the workers, soldiers and sailors, calling upon them to fight for the victory of the Socialist revolution. " Long live the Socialist revolution ! " were the words with which Lenin concluded his first speech after his return to Russia.

" THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE PRESENT REVOLUTION," April 20, 1917

Lenin's famous April Theses were published in *Pravda* on April 20, 1917, under the title " The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution." The April Theses provided the Party and the proletariat with a clear revolutionary line for the transition from the bourgeois to the Socialist revolution.

June 17 *and* 22, 1917. *Petrograd*	Lenin speaks at the First Congress of Soviets on policy towards the Provisional Government and the war
July 20, 1917 *Petrograd*	The Provisional Government gives orders for Lenin's arrest. He goes into hiding

Lenin's Theses were of immense significance to the revolution and to the subsequent work of the Party. The revolution was a momentous turn in the life of the country. In the new conditions of the struggle that followed the overthrow of tsardom, the Party needed a new orientation to advance boldly and confidently along the new road. Lenin's Theses gave the Party this orientation.

The Theses laid down for the Party a brilliant plan of struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the Socialist revolution, from the first stage of the revolution to the second stage—the stage of the Socialist revolution.

The whole history of the Party had prepared it for this great task. As far back as 1905, Lenin had said in his pamphlet " The Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution " that after the overthrow of tsardom the proletariat would proceed to bring about the Socialist revolution. The new thing in the Theses was that they gave a concrete, theoretically grounded plan for the initial stage of the transition to the Socialist revolution.

LENIN AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES, June 17, 1917.

Tsereteli, the Menshevik leader, asserted from the platform of the Congress that there was no political party in Russia that would say: " Hand over the power to us."

Lenin rose to his feet and loudly declared: " There is such a party! It is the Bolshevik Party."

LENIN SPEAKING AT THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONFERENCE OF BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARMY, June-July, 1917:

The Bolsheviks carried on extensive activities in the army, both at the fronts and in the rear. In June 1917 an All-Russian conference of Bolshevik organisations in the army was called. At the conference two reports were delivered by Lenin—one on the current situation and the organisation of power, and the other on the agrarian question—and one by Stalin on the national question.

July 24 to beginning of September 1917. Sestroretsk and Razliv

Lenin changes his place of concealment to Sestroretsk and then to a shanty near Razliv. While in hiding, he continues to guide the work of the Party

LENIN SPEAKING AT THE PUTILOV WORKS IN 1917

On the basis of the decisions of the April Conference (1917), the Party developed extensive activities in order to win over the masses, and to train and organise them for battle. The Bolsheviks carried on intense activities in the Soviets, in the army, at workers' meetings, in the barracks, in workers' tenements, and among the peasantry. Lenin often addressed workers' meetings in Petrograd. One Putilov worker, recalling a speech made by Lenin at the works, says: ".....His words stirred us, fired us. Fear vanished, fatigue passed away. And it seemed as if this was not only the voice of Lenin, but of all the forty thousand workers—sitting, standing, clinging to the roof,—a voice giving utterance to their innermost voice."

" THE POLITICAL SITUATION " July 23, 1917

In July the revolutionary indignation of the workers and soldiers at the policy of the Provisional Government found vent in a huge spontaneous armed demonstration in Petrograd demanding the transfer of power to the Soviets. The Bolshevik Party succeeded in lending this demonstration a peaceful and organised character. Nevertheless, reactionary units were brought out against it. After suppressing the demonstration of workers and soldiers, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, in alliance with the bourgeoisie and the Whiteguard generals, launched a savage attack on the Bolshevik Party. After the July days the counter-revolution took the actual power into its own hands. Analysing the political situation in the country, Lenin in this article outlined the tasks of the Bolshevik Party.

" ON SLOGANS " July 1917.

Before the July days, Lenin wrote in this article in the middle of July, the state power was in an unstable condition. It was shared, by voluntary agreement, between the Provisional Government and the Soviets. The slogan " All power must be transferred to the Soviets ! "

August-September 1917. Razliv	Lenin works on his book *State and Revolution*
August 8-16, 1917	Sixth Congress of the R. S. D. L. P., whose work is guided by Stalin, elects Lenin its honorary chairman
Beginning of September 1917	Lenin crosses the Finnish frontier to Helsingfors on a locomotive, disguised as the fireman
September 1917 *Helsingfors*	Lenin writes a letter to the Central Committee and several articles in connection with the Kornilov plot
September 25-27, 1917. *Helsingfors*	Lenin writes the letters to the Central Committee known as "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection"
September 30, 1917	Lenin removes to Viborg so as to maintain more regular connections with the Party Central Committee

was a slogan for a peaceful development of the revolution. After the July days the situation took an abrupt turn. The entire power passed into the hands of the counter-revolution. The Soviets, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, had landed in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Lenin proposed that the slogan " All power to the Soviets ! " should temporarily be withdrawn, though he pointed out that this applied not to the Soviets in general, but to the existing Soviets, which were led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Soviets, he wrote, might, and indeed were bound to, appear in the coming proletarian revolution.

" STATE AND REVOLUTION. THE MARXIST DOCTRINE OF THE STATE AND THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTION "

August-September 1917.

In this book Lenin restored the revolutionary Marxist doctrine of the state, which had been vulgarised and distorted by the opportunists; he developed the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and showed the Soviets to be the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With this book Lenin armed the working class and poor peasantry of Russia for victory in the Great October Socialist Revolution and the struggle for building Socialist society.

" MARXISM AND INSURRECTION. LETTER TO THE C. C. OF THE R. S. D. L. P." September 26-27, 1917

By September 1917 the principal conditions were ripe in Russia for a successful uprising, and the Bolsheviks began intensive preparations for it. Lenin in his Letter to the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P. in September 1917 wrote that, having secured a majority in the Soviets in both the capitals—Petrograd and Moscow —the Bolsheviks could and should take the power into their own hands. Reviewing the path that had been traversed, Lenin stressed the fact that " the *majority* of the people are for us..... Our victory is *assured*..... "

Lenin in this letter set forth a detailed plan for the armed uprising.

October 1917	Publication of Lenin's pamphlet *Can the Bolsheviks Retain Power?*
October 20, 1917	On the decision of the Party Central Committee, Lenin arrives secretly in Petrograd
October 23, 1917 *Petrograd*	The Party Central Committee adopts its historic resolution to launch an armed uprising. The resolution was drawn up by Lenin
October 29, 1917 *Petrograd*	An enlarged meeting of the Party Central Committee, presided over by Lenin, elects a *Party Center*, headed by Stalin, to direct the uprising

"CAN THE BOLSHEVIKS RETAIN POWER?" October 7-14, 1917

On the eve of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties all cried that even if the Bolsheviks should venture to take power into their own hands, they would not be able to retain it even for a short period.

In this book Lenin subjected the arguments of the enemies of Bolshevism to annihilating criticism and said:

> "More than at any other time, more than anywhere else, the proletariat of Russia, if it assumes power now, can be certain of victory, and of a lasting victory."

RESOLUTION OF OCTOBER 23 (10), 1917, ON THE ARMED UPRISING.

On October 20 (7), 1917, Lenin secretly arrived in Petrograd from Finland.

On October 23 (10), the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Party took place at which it was decided to launch the armed uprising within the next few days.

Two members of the Central Committee, Kamenev and Zinoviev, spoke and voted against this historic decision. Although at this meeting Trotsky did not vote against the resolution directly he moved an amendment which would have reduced the chances of the uprising to nought and rendered it abortive. The Central Committee of the Party adopted the historic resolution on the armed uprising drawn up by Lenin.

Original pencil notes of this historic resolution, penned by Lenin himself are still to be found preserved in the Lenin Museum as an exhibit.

October 31, 1917
Petrograd

Lenin writes his " Letter to the Members of the Bolshevik Party," demanding the expulsion from the Party of Zinoviev and Kamenev as traitors and scabs who had disclosed to the enemy the decision of the Central Committee regarding the armed uprising

" A LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY " October 31, 1917.

On October 31, 1917, the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* printed a statement by Kamenev and Zinoviev declaring that the Bolsheviks were making preparations for a rising, and that they (Kamenev and Zinoviev) considered it an adventurous gamble. Kamenev and Zinoviev thus disclosed to the enemy the decision of the Central Committee to organize a rising to take place within a few days. This was treachery which Lenin branded as such, demanding the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party.

In his letter to the Members of the Central Committee, on November 6 (October, 24), 1917, Lenin insisted that power should be seized immediately and that delay would be fatal. The counter-revolution was mustering its forces to prevent the uprising and to destroy the staff of the revolution—the Bolshevik Party. On November 1 the Provisional Government hastily summoned troops from the front to Petrograd. It drew up a plan : on the eve of the Second Congress of Soviets, the Smolny—the headquarters of the Bolshevik Central Committee—was to be attacked and occupied and the Bolshevik directing center destroyed.

But the days and even the hours of the Provisional Government were already numbered. Nothing could now halt the victorious march of the Socialist Revolution.

At a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, Trotsky in a fit of boasting blabbed to the enemy the date on which the Bolsheviks had planned to begin the armed uprising. In order not to allow Kerensky's government to frustrate the uprising, the Central Committee of the Party decided to start and carry it through before the appointed time, and set its date for the day before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets.

November 6, 1917
Petrograd

Beginning of the armed uprising in Petrograd. That night, Lenin arrives at the Smolny and assumes personal direction of the uprising

November 7
(*October* 25), 1917

Victory of the armed uprising in Petrograd, led by Lenin and Stalin. The power of state passes into the hands of the Soviets

November 8, 1917
Petrograd

Lenin makes his reports on peace and on the land at the Second Congress of Soviets. The Congress adopts the Decree on Peace and the Decree on the Land drawn up by Lenin and elects him Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

THE OCTOBER, SOCIALIST REVOLUTION USHERED IN A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND—THE ERA OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONS

Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The Power of State has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Revolutionary Military Committee, which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

The cause for which the people have fought—the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of landlordism, workers' control over production and creation of a Soviet Government—is assured.

Long live the revolution of the workers, soldiers, and peasants!

Revolutionary Military Committee
Of the Petrograd Soviet
Of Workers' And Soldiers' Deputies.

October 25, 1917, 10 a.m.

DECREE ON LAND, 8th November (Oct. 26) 1917.

The following are excerpts from the Decree on Land, drawn up by Lenin and adopted by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on the night of November 8 (October 26), 1917 and published in the "Izvestia" on November 10 (October 28), the same year:—

"1. The rights of the landlords to ownership of the land are abolished forthwith without compensation.

November 9-13, 1917. *Petrograd*	Lenin directs the suppression of an anti-Soviet revolt of military cadets in Petrograd and Kerensky's forces near Petrograd
November 16, 1917. *Petrograd*	Publication of the Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia, drawn up by Stalin and signed by Lenin and Stalin

2. The landed estates, as well as all crown, monasterial and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, farm buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the rural area Land Committees and the district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

3. All damage to confiscated property, which henceforth belongs to the whole people, is proclaimed a felony punishable by the revolutionary courts. The district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies shall take all necessary measures to guarantee the observance of strict order during the confiscation of the landed estates, to determine estates of what size, and what particular estates, shall be subject to confiscation, to draw up accurate inventories of all property confiscated and to protect in a strict revolutionary way all agricultural enterprises transferred to the people, with all structures, implements, livestock, supplies, etc."

Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

October 26, 1917

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE NATIONS OF RUSSIA

The following is the concluding part of the Declaration of Rights of Nations published in November 1917 :—

" In pursuance of the will of the congresses (viz., the First Congress of Soviets of June 1917 and the Second Congress of October 1917—Ed.), the Council of People's Commissars has decided to base its activities with regard to the nationalities of Russia on the following principles :

1. The equality and sovereignty of the nations of Russia.

November 27 *and* *December* 1, 1917 *Petrograd*	Lenin speaks at the Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of Peasants' Deputies
November-December 1917. *Petrograd*	Lenin drafts and has passed the first decrees of the Soviet Government
January 14, 1918 *Petrograd*	Lenin speaks at a send-off of the first detachments of the Socialist army
January 19, 1918 *Petrograd*	Lenin speaks at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee proposing the dissolution of the bourgeois Constituent Assembly. The A. R. C. E. C. adopts a decree on the subject drafted by Lenin
January 23-31, 1918. *Petrograd*	Lenin guides the work of the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which adopts the Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, drawn up by Lenin
February 10, 1918 *Petrograd*	Lenin and Stalin send a telegram to the Soviet Peace Delegation at Brest-Litovsk protesting against Trotsky's treacherous act in breaking off peace negotiations with Germany

2. The right of the nations of Russia to free self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states.

3. Abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions whatsoever.

4. Freedom of development for the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

The specific decrees necessitated by this will be drawn up immediately after a Commission on National Affairs has been formed.

In the name of the Russian Republic,

Joseph Djugashvili-Stalin
People's Commissar for National Affairs

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

DECREE OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY.

The opening paragraphs of the above decree, adopted in January 1918 and published on February 1, 1918 state :—

> " The old army was an instrument of class oppression of the toilers by the bourgeoisie. With the transfer of power to the toilers and exploited, the need for a new army arose, an army which would serve as a bulwark of the Soviet power to-day, the foundation for the replacement of a standing army by the universally armed people in the near future, and a support for the coming Socialist revolutions in Europe.

I

Accordingly, the Council of People's Commissars decrees that a new army be formed, to be known as the " Workers' and Peasants' Red Army," on the following basis :—

February 23, 1918 *Petrograd*	The Central Committee of the Party, on Lenin's recommendation, decides to accept the terms of the German Command and to sign the peace treaty
	Lenin organizes the defence of the Soviet country in face of the advancing armies of German imperialism
March 6-8, 1918 *Petrograd*	Lenin guides the work of the Seventh Party Congress. He makes the reports on war and peace, alteration of Party program, and change of the name of the Party
March 10-11, 1918	Lenin removes to Moscow when the seat of government is transferred to that city
March 14, 1918 *Moscow*	The Fourth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets, having heard Lenin's report, ratifies the peace treaty with Germany
April 29, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin makes a report to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the immediate tasks of the Soviet Government
May 9-11, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin's article "'Left' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality," directed against the "Left Communists," published in *Pravda*
May 21 *and* 22, 1918. *Moscow*	Lenin sends a telegram and letter to the workers of Petrograd, calling upon them to form workers' food detachments in order to combat famine
May 31, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin signs the government order appointing Stalin General Director of Food Affairs in the South of Russia

(1) The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army shall be formed from the most class-conscious and organised elements of the laboring classes.

Its ranks shall be open to all citizens of the Russian Republic of eighteen years of age and over. All who are prepared to devote their life and strength to the defence of the gains of the October Revolution, the power of the Soviets and Socialism can join the Red Army....."

July 4-10, 1918
Moscow

Lenin guides the work of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which adopts the Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC, July, 1918.

The Constitution of the R. S. F. S. R., the first Soviet Constitution, was adopted by the Fifth Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918. Following are a few clauses, from the draft corrected by Lenin :—

CHAPTER I

General Principles

1. All power within the R. S. F. S. R. belongs to the whole working population of the country, united under Soviets of Deputies, or Sovdeps.

2. For the purpose of exercising the power belonging to the working population, the workers and agricultural laborers, as well as the peasants, Cossacks and other working people who do not employ hired labor, form local—rural, urban and districts—Soviets of Deputies.

3. Local Soviets of Deputies unite to form district Unions at District Congresses of Soviets.

4. Whenever economic or ethnographical conditions require it, local and district Soviets may, at regional Congresses, form special regional Unions.

5. All the local, district and regional Soviets constitute a single and indivisible Union of Soviets named the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic.

6. The R. S. F. S. R. is headed by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee with a Council of People's Commissars.

7. The power of the Soviets and of their Congresses is exercised within the limits stipulated by the present Constitution.

8. As Socialist Soviet governments are set up in other countries, the R. S. F. S. R. shall join with them to form a single Union of Socialist Federative Soviet Republics.

Middle of August 1918. *Moscow*	Lenin writes the Manifesto "Comrades Workers, Onward to the Last, Decisive Fight!"
August 20, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin writes a letter to the American workers on the revolution and civil war in Russia
August 30, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin, on leaving a meeting at the Michelson factory, is fired at and severely wounded by the terrorist Kaplan, who was instigated to the crime by the Socialist-Revolutionaries with the knowledge and consent of Trotsky and Bukharin
September 16, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin attends the first meeting of the Central Committee of the Party since he was wounded
October 3, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin calls for the enlargement of the Red Army to three million men
Nov. 6-9, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets

LENIN SHOT AT August 30, 1918

On August 30, 1918, Lenin addressed a meeting of workers at the Michelson Factory in Moscow. On leaving the factory, he was fired at from a revolver and wounded by a woman Socialist-Revolutionary named Kaplan The trial of the anti-Soviet " Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites " has since shown that this villainous attempt on Lenin's life was instigated by the dastardly enemies of the people, Trotsky and Bukharin, and that it was the result of a criminal plot of the " Left Communists " and their accomplices, the " Left " and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries.

LENIN UNVEILS MEMORIAL TO MARX AND ENGELS November 7, 1918

On the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Moscow, on November 7, 1918, Lenin said :

" The great and historic merit of Marx and Engels, is that they indicated to the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their mission, namely, to be the first to rise in the revolutionary struggle against capital and to rally around themselves in this struggle ALL the toilers and exploited. We are living in happy times, when the prophecy of the great Socialists has begun to be realized."

Nov. 10, 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin sends a telegram to all Soviets announcing the victory of the revolution in Germany
Nov. 30, 1918 *Moscow*	Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence formed, with Lenin as chairman and Stalin as one of the members
December 1918 *Moscow*	Lenin sends Stalin and Dzerzhinsky to restore the fighting efficiency of the Red Army on the Eastern Front
End of 1918 *Moscow*	Publication of Lenin's book *The Proletarian Revolution and The Renegade Kautsky*
March 2-6, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the First Congress of the Communist International. He makes the report on the subject of "Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship"

TO THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN BERLIN

Immediately convey our most ardent greetings to Karl Liebknecht. The release from prison of the representative of the revolutionary workers of Germany is a sign of a new epoch of victorious Socialism which is now beginning for Germany and for the whole world.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks): Lenin, Sverdlov and Stalin.

"THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE RENEGADE KAUTSKY." 1918.

Writing to Vorovsky in Germany in September 1918, Lenin said that Kautsky should be subjected to sharp criticism in the German revolutionary press as a vulgar opportunist and vicious enemy of the revolution, and asked Vorovsky to send him a copy of Kautsky's pamphlet, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

In "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", written October-November 1918, Lenin made a detailed analysis of this pamphlet, showing Kautsky to be an apologist and defender of the bourgeoisie who used Socialist phraseology to conceal his true character.

"THESES ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP"

These theses were adopted by the First Congress of the Communist International on March 4, 1919. The Communist International was founded in March 1919, on the initiative of the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin. The First Congress, held in Moscow, was attended by delegates from the most important countries of Europe and America. The work of the Congress was guided by Lenin.

Lenin introduced theses on bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, bringing out the importance of the Soviet system and showing that it meant genuine democracy for the working people.

March 18-23, 1919. *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Eighth Congress of the R. C. P (B.) and makes several reports
March 23, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin sends a message of greetings by radio to the Hungarian Soviet Republic
April 10, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin addresses an appeal to the workers of Petrograd, calling upon them to do their utmost to support the Eastern Front
April 17, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin addresses a conference of factory committees and trade unions of Moscow and calls upon the proletariat of that city to wage a strenuous struggle against Kolchak
April 27, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin sends a message of greetings to the Bavarian Soviet Republic
May 21, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin sends Stalin to Petrograd to organize the defeat of Yudenich
June 28, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin completes his pamphlet *A Great Beginning*

"THESES OF THE C. C. OF THE R. C. P. (B.) IN CONNECTION WITH THE SITUATION ON THE EASTERN FRONT," April 11, 1919.

In the spring of 1919 the Eastern Front became the main front. The finest Bolshevik forces were hurled against Kolchak; Young Communists and workers were mobilised.

The theses drawn up by Lenin in connection with the situation on the Eastern Front were of immense importance in mobilizing the masses to combat Kolchak.

In April 1919, Kolchak's army met with severe defeat at the hands of the Red Army and very soon began to retreat along the whole front.

Towards the end of 1919 Kolchak's army was completely routed.

"GREETINGS TO THE BAVARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC" April 27, 1919.

On April 7, 1919, a Soviet Republic was proclaimed in Bavaria. It lasted until May 1, 1919. In these greetings to the Bavarian Republic, Lenin outlined a program of measures essential for the consolidation of the republic and for the improvement of the condition of the working people.

TELEGRAM FROM STALIN TO LENIN, June 16, 1919.

While Yudenich was advancing on Petrograd, the garrisons of Krasnaya Gorka and Seraya Loshad—two forts in the vicinity of Petrograd—influenced by the counter-revolutionary agitation of former officers, mutinied against the Soviet Government. At the same time a counter-revolutionary plot was discovered at the Front Headquarters.

Urgent measures had to be taken to save the situation. The Central Committee of the Party selected Stalin for this purpose, and in the course of three weeks he succeeded in effecting a radical change in the situation. The telegram shows that under his direct leadership the mutiny in Krasnaya Gorka and Seraya Loshad was suppressed,

July 9, 1919 *Moscow*	Publication of Lenin's message, written on behalf of the Central Committee, entitled, "All for the Fight Against Denikin!"
August 24, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin writes "A Letter to the Workers and Peasants on the Victory over Kolchak"

and the forts recaptured. Yudenich's troops were defeated and driven back into Esthonia.

" ALL FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST DENIKIN ! "

After Kolchak had been defeated, the Entente centered its attention on General Denikin. In the summer of 1919 the Southern Front became the chief front. The Entente supplied Denikin's army with large quantities of ammunition and equipment and sent it against the Soviet Government. Trotsky had disrupted the Southern Front, and the Red troops suffered defeat after defeat. The Whites were approaching Moscow.

The Party sounded the alarm and called upon the people to resist. Lenin issued the slogan : " All for the fight against Denikin ! "

Here is the concluding part of Lenin's letter to the Central Committee :—

CHIEF TASK OF THE MOMENT

" All Communists, first and foremost, and all who sympathise with them, all honest workers and peasants, and all Soviet employees, must *place themselves on a military footing*, devoting *to the maximum of their work*, their efforts and their care to the *immediate tasks of the war*, to the swift repulse of the advance of Denikin, curtailing all their other activities and adapting and subordinating them to this task.

" The Soviet Republic is besieged by the enemy. It must become a *single military camp*, not only in word, but in deed.

" All the work of all institutions must be adapted to the war and placed on a military footing !....."

Sept. 27, 1919. *Moscow*	The Party Central Committee, on Lenin's initiative adopts Stalin's plan for the defeat of Denikin
Dec. 2-4, 1919. *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Eighth All-Russian Conference of the R. C. P. (B.)
Dec. 5-9, 1919. *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets
Dec. 28, 1919 *Moscow*	Lenin writes "A Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine on the Victories Over Denikin"
January 24, 1920. *Moscow*	Lenin writes to Stalin proposing the conversion of the State Control into the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate
March 29-*April* 5, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Ninth Congress of the R. C. P. (B.) and makes several reports
April 23, 1920 *Moscow*	The country celebrates the fiftieth birthday of its great teacher and leader. Lenin addresses a ceremonial meeting of the Moscow Committee of the R. C. P. (B.)
May 1, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin takes part in the May Day Subbotnik in the Kremlin
May 5, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin speaks at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on Poland's war on the Soviet Republic
June 1920	Publication of Lenin's book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*

STALIN'S PLAN FOR DEFEATING DENIKIN, Autumn 1919

The Central Committee sent Stalin, Voroshilov, Orjonikidze and Budyonny to the Southern Front to prepare the rout of Denikin. Trotsky was removed from the direction of the operations of the Red Army in the South.

Stalin severely criticized the plan for the main blow at Denikin drawn up by the Command of the Southern Front in conjunction with Trotsky, and submitted to the Central Committee of the Party his own plan for the defeat of Denikin. According to this plan, the main blow was to be delivered by way of the proletarian districts of Kharkov and the Donetz Basin in the direction of Rostov.

The Central Committee of the Party accepted Stalin's plan, and Lenin gave orders in his own handwriting to the field staff to act in accordance with this plan.

By the efforts of the workers and peasants, inspired and led by the Bolsheviks, Denikin was repulsed, and at the beginning of 1920 the whole of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus were cleared of Whites.

" 'LEFT-WING' COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER " April-May 1920.

In this book Lenin gave a remarkable exposition of the principles of Bolshevik strategy and tactics. The book was published simultaneously in Russian, English, German and French.

July 19-*Aug.* 7, 1920. *Petrograd, Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Second Congress of the Communist International and makes several reports
August 2. 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin informs Stalin that the Central Committee has decided to entrust him with the organization of the defeat of Wrangel
Sept. 22-25, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Ninth All-Russian Conference of the R. C. P. (B.)
October 2, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin addresses the Third All-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League on the tasks of the League
Dec. 22-29, 1920 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Eighth Congress of Soviets
January 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin writes a number of articles on the trade union question
Feb. 21, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin writes the article entitled "A Single Economic Plan."
March 2, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin sends congratulations to the Georgian Communists on the formation of the Georgian Soviet Republic
March 8-16, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Tenth Congress of the R. C. P. (B.). He makes the reports on the New Economic Policy, Party unity, and other questions
March 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin receives a letter from Stalin supporting the plan of electrification

"PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS," June 5, 1920.

These theses were written for the Second Congress of the Communist International, which was held from July 19 to August 7, 1920. Communist and some Socialist parties and organizations of forty-one countries were represented at the Congress.

Lenin made the report on the international situation and the principal tasks of the Communist International, and also spoke several times in the course of the discussions.

The Congress set up a commission on the national and colonial questions whose work was guided by Lenin.

Below we reproduce some parts of Lenin's manuscript draft theses :—

"4. It follows from the above-enunciated fundamental propositions that the cornerstone of the whole policy of the Communist International on the national and colonial question must be to bring together the proletarians and the masses of the toilers of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie; for this alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible.

5. The world political situation has now placed the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day, and all events in world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point—the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which is inevitably grouping around itself, on the one hand, the Soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities, whom bitter experience has convinced that there can be no salvation for them except in the victory of the Soviet power over world imperialism.

April 21, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin completes his pamphlet *The Food Tax*
May 26-28, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the R. C. P. (B.). He makes the report on the food tax
June 22-*July* 12, 1921. *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Third Congress of the Communist International. He makes the report on the tactics of the R. C. P. (B.). and speaks several times in the discussion
Sept. 27, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin writes to Stalin on the subject of the tasks of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate
Dec. 23, 1921 *Moscow*	Lenin makes the report of the government on home and foreign policy at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets
March 12, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin writes the article entitled "On the Significance of Militant Materialism"
March 21, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin writes to Stalin on the principal tasks of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate
March 27-*April* 2, 1922. *Moscow*	Lenin guides the work of the Eleventh Congress of the R. C. P. (B.) and makes the political report of the Central Committee

" THE FOOD TAX " March-April 1921.

In this pamphlet Lenin gave a full explanation of the New Economic policy, its significance, and the condition that had called for it.

Lenin considered that a certain freedom of trade would give the peasant an economic incentive, induce him to produce more and would lead to a rapid improvement of agriculture; that, on this basis, the state-owned industries would be restored and private capital displaced; that, strength and resources having been accumulated, a powerful industry could be created as the economic foundation of Socialism, and that then a determined offensive could be undertaken to destroy the remnants of capitalism in the country.

The pamphlet was printed and bound at a Subbotnik arranged by a conference of printers in Archangel.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R. C. P. (B.)

March 27, 1922.

At this Congress the Party reviewed the results of the first year of the New Economic Policy. These results entitled Lenin to declare at the Congress : " For a year we have been retreating. In the name of the Party we must now call a halt. The purpose pursued by the retreat has been achieved. This period is drawing, or has drawn, to a close. Now our purpose is different—to regroup our forces." NEP meant a life and death struggle between capitalism and Socialism. " Who will win? " —that was the question. In order to win, Lenin said, the bond between the working class and the peasantry had to be made secure, and for this purpose the art of management and of efficient trading would have to be learned. The Eleventh Congress was the last Congress of the Party in which Lenin took a direct part.

Beginning of May 1922, *Gorki*	Lenin falls seriously ill
May 20, 1922 *Gorki*	Lenin writes to Stalin on "dual" subordination and legality
August 5, 1922 *Gorki*	Lenin requests Stalin to convey his thanks to the Twelfth All-Russian Conference of the R. C. P. (B.) for the greetings sent to him
October 2, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin returns to Moscow and resumes his work
Nov. 13, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin makes a report at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International on five years of the Russian revolution and the prospects of the world revolution
Nov. 20, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin makes his last public utterance speaking on home and foreign policy at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Soviet

LENIN IN GORKI

At the beginning of May 1922, a serious attack of illness forced Lenin temporarily to suspend work. He spent all his time in Gorki. By the middle of June his condition improved somewhat and a month later he resumed his business correspondence, asking for books to be sent him and demanding answers to his questions.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

On October 2, 1922 Lenin returned to Moscow after his illness and resumed his duties. He presided at meetings of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and attended the plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party. On October 31, he spoke at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and on November 13 made a report to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

On November 20 he made a speech at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Soviet in which he reviewed the five years of the Soviet government and expressed the firm conviction that "NEP Russia will become Socialist Russia." This was his last speech to the country.

Beginning of December 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin again falls seriously ill
Dec. 4, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin writes the "Notes on the Tasks of Our Delegation at the Hague"
Dec. 12, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin works for the last time in his office in the Kremlin
Dec. 13, 1922 *Moscow*	Lenin writes a letter to Stalin to be read at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the R. C. P. (B.) on the question of the monopoly of foreign trade
Jan.-March, 1923, *Moscow*	Lenin dictates his last articles "Pages from a Diary"; "On Co-operation"; "Our Revolution"; "How We Should Re-organize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate"; "Better Fewer, But Better"
Middle of May 1923	Lenin leaves Moscow for the village of Gorki

Jan. 21, 1924
6-50 ***p.m. Gorki***

DEATH OF LENIN

" PAGES FROM A DIARY," January 2, 1923. " HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTORATE," January 23, 1923. " BETTER FEWER, BUT BETTER " March 2, 1923

Even in illness Lenin did not discontinue his work When already a very sick man, he wrote a number of highly important articles. In these last writings he reviewed the work already performed and outlined a plan for the building of Socialism in the Soviet Republic by enlisting the peasantry in the cause of Socialist construction.

BULLETINS OF LENIN'S HEALTH, TAKEN FROM " PRAVDA " for 1923.

At the end of 1922 a great misfortune overtook the Party : Lenin fell seriously ill. His illness was a deep and personal affliction to the whole Party and to all the working people. All lived in trepidation for the life of their beloved Lenin. The whole country tensely followed the state of his health.

While Lenin was ill he received hundreds of letters and telegrams from all over the Soviet Union expressing the warm regard and concern of the working people for the health of their leader and teacher.

APPENDIX I

LENIN

LEADER AND TEACHER, CREATOR OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY PASSED AWAY IN THE VILLAGE OF GORKI NEAR MOSCOW, ON JANUARY 21, 1924

We Communists are people of a special mould We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of Member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin.....

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of Member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with credit !.....

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the Proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil this behest, too, with credit !.....

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit !.....

Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of maintaining the voluntary union of the nations of our country, the necessity for fraternal co-operation between them within the framework of the Union of Republics.

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit !.....

More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our

Party..... Let us vow then, Comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy...

Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International.

J. Stalin

APPENDIX II

Workers of all Countries, Unite!

FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)

TO THE PARTY, TO ALL WORKING PEOPLE!

On January 21, Comrade Lenin passed away.

The man who founded our iron Party, who worked to build it up from year to year, who led it when it suffered the blows of tsardom, who taught it and steeled it in a bitter struggle against the traitors to the working class, against the halfhearted, the vacillators and the deserters —that man is dead. The man under whose leadership the unwavering ranks of the Bolsheviks fought in 1905, retreated in the period of reaction, again advanced, led the van of the fighters against the autocracy, and defeated, exposed and overthrew the ideological rule of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—that man is dead. The man under whose militant captaincy our Party, enveloped in the smoke of battle, implanted with a firm hand the red banner of October in every part of the country, swept aside the resistance of the enemies and firmly established the rule of the working people in former tsarist Russia—that man is dead. The man who founded the Communist International, the leader of world Communism, in whom the affection and pride of the world proletariat is centered, the standard for the oppressed East, the head of the workers' dictatorship in Russia, that man is dead.

Never since Marx has the history of the great emancipation movement of the proletariat produced so gigantic a figure as our late leader, teacher and friend. Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—fearlessness of mind; iron, inflexible, stubborn and all-conquering will; sacred and mortal hatred of slavery and oppression; revolutionary passion that moves mountains; boundless faith in the creative power of the masses; profound organizational genius—all this was magnificently embodied in Lenin, whose name has become a symbol of a new world, from East to West, from North to South.

Lenin was able, as nobody else, to discern the great and the small, to foretell huge historical upheavals and at the same time to utilize every detail. He knew how to attack furiously when necessary, and, when necessary, to retreat in order to prepare for a new advance. He recognized no petrified formulas; he allowed nothing to veil his wise, all-seeing gaze. For he was a born leader of the proletarian army, a genius of the working class.

Invaluable is the contribution which Comrade Lenin has made to the treasure-store of Marxism. It is to him that the working class owes the working out of the doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship, of the alliance of the workers and the peasants, of the great importance of the national and colonial questions to the fight of the proletariat, and, lastly, his doctrine of the role and nature of the Party. And in Lenin's hands all this wealth was not so much frozen capital, but a matter of virile, and incomparable practice. "It is far pleasanter to make a revolution than to write about it," Comrade Lenin used to say. And his whole life, from its first conscious beginning to his last painful breath, was devoted to the working class.

Never has there been a man so deeply devoted to his cause as was Lenin, who in his splendid life had no other interests than those of the Party, the proletariat and the Communist revolution. Never has there been a man with so profound a sense of responsibility. His superhuman and unquenchable passion for work, the indefatigable working of his mind and his unsparing expenditure of energy at last undermined his sturdy constitution and

extinguished forever the life of our most beloved leader, our Ilyitch.

But the death of his body does not mean the death of his cause. Lenin lives in the spirit of every member of our Party; every member of our Party bears within him a particle of Lenin. Our Communist family is one collective embodiment of Lenin.

Lenin lives in the heart of every honest worker.

Lenin lives in the heart of every poor peasant.

Lenin lives in the hearts of millions of colonial slaves.

Lenin lives in the hatred of our enemies for Leninism, Communism, Bolshevism.

Now, when our Party has suffered this most severe blow—the death of Lenin—we must work with greater persistence than ever to carry out his principal behests.

Never was Lenin so great as in moments of danger. With firm hand, he led the Party through every danger, always making towards his goal with incomparable coolness and courage. Nothing was more revolting, disgusting and loathsome to Lenin than panic, confusion, dismay and vacillation.

In this, too, the Party will follow in his footsteps. He has left us forever, our incomparable champion and comrade. But we will march fearlessly on. Let our enemies gloat over our loss! Wretched and miserable creatures that they are, they do not know our Party! They hope that the Party will fall asunder. But the Party will march forward with iron tread. For it is Lenin's Party. It has been reared and tempered in battle. It has the behests of Comrade Lenin to guide it.

We will raise up against the world alliance of landlords and capitalists our alliance of workers and peasants, and the alliance of the oppressed nations.

We stand firmly implanted. Amidst the ruins of Europe, we are the only country which, under the rule of the workers, is undergoing rebirth and boldly faces the future. Millions are gathering around our glorious banner. The death of our teacher, heavy though the blow may be, will rally our ranks still closer.

We march in the fight against capital in a solidly linked chain, and no force in the world can prevent our final victory.

That victory will be the best memorial we can erect Comrade Lenin, whom the masses regarded as their best friend and called " our Ilyitch."

MAY OUR PARTY LIVE AND TRIUMPH!
LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS!

Central Committee of the Russian
Communist Party.